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FORTY-TWO VOLUMES

ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-EIGHT DESIGNS, COMPRISING REPRODUCTIONS OF RARE OLD ENGRAVINGS, STEEL PLATES, PHOTOGRAVURES, AND CURIOUS FACSIMILES

VOLUME XXX

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VOLTAIRE

ANCIENT AND MODERN HISTORY

IN SEVEN VOLUMES

VOL. VII

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

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ANCIENT AND MODERN HISTORY.

[The notes which form this volume were written at various periods, and have interest independently of the earlier passages, which they were intended to supplement.]

THE SEEMING UNION OF THE GREEK AND LATIN CHURCHES.

The Greek emperor, John Palæologus, with his patriarch, and almost all the other prelates, subscribed at Florence to the long-disputed point of the primacy of the bishop of Rome. The Byzantine history affirms that the pope bribed them to sign this acknowledgment. This is not improbable. It was to the pope's interest to gain this advantage at any price, and the bishops of a country that had been a prey to the ravages of the Turks must have been poor.

This union of the Latins and Greeks was indeed but transitory. It was a game played by the emperor, John II., surnamed Palæologus. The whole Greek Church disowned what had been done; and the bishops who had subscribed at Florence asked pardon for their proceedings at Constantinople, and

acknowledged that they had betrayed the true faith. They were compared to Judas, who betrayed his master, and were not readmitted into the bosom of the Church till they had formally abjured the innovations with which the Latins were accused.

After this the Latin and Greek Churches were more divided than ever. The Greeks, always vain of their boasted antiquity, their first general councils, and their sciences, increased in their hatred and contempt for the Romish communion. They made all the Latins who came over to them be baptized anew, and from this came the custom observed by the Russian priests at St. Petersburg and Riga, of obliging a Roman Catholic who embraces the Greek religion to undergo a second baptism. Several struck extreme unction out of the number of the sacraments, and they were one and all against the procession of the Holy Ghost and communicating in one kind only; and, in fact, it is certain that they differ as much from the Church of Rome as the Protestants do.

Nevertheless, Pope Eugenius IV. was thought by the whole West to have extinguished this great schism. He had indeed brought the Greek emperor and his church under a seeming subjection.

THE COUNCIL OF BASEL.

The Council of Basel were the first who forbade the popes to make more than twenty-four cardinals,

They did not consider that, by lessening the number, they increased the power; and that the more rare any dignity is, the more it is respected.

Amadeus VIII., duke of Savoy, contented himself with being a cardinal. This was the twenty-seventh and last considerable schism that had been raised for the possession of St. Peter's chair. Never was the throne of any kingdom so often disputed.

Æneas Piccolomini, the Florentine poet and orator, who was secretary to this council, had written violently in support of the superiority of councils over the popes; but after he was made pope himself, under the name of Pius II., he condemned, still more violently, his own writings, sacrificing every consideration to that of present interest, which so frequently makes the principles of truth or falsehood among them. There were some other writings of his spread abroad. In the fifteenth letter of his collection of letters, published under the title of "*Amœnitates,*" he recommends one of his bastards, whom he had by an English woman. Hence we find that he did not condemn his amours, as he had condemned his sentiments on the fallibility of the popes.

TAKING OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

This conquest forms a grand epoch. Here begins in reality the Turkish Empire, in the midst of Chris-

tendom; and at this time some of the arts of Greece were first transported among them.

The Turkish annals appear to be very true in what they relate of the sieges of Constantinople. Ducas himself, who is thought to have been of the imperial race, and who during his infancy was in the besieged city, acknowledges in his history that the sultan offered to give Peloponnesus to the emperor Constantine, and to grant him some small provinces for his brothers. Mahomet wanted to have possession of the city without sacking it, as he looked upon it as a part of his property, which he was willing to preserve.

No Christian nation will suffer the Turks to have a mosque in their country, and yet the Turks give leave to the Greeks to have churches among them; several of these churches are collegiate, and in the Archipelago we see canons under the dominion of a pasha.

Some authors have had the weakness to relate that Mahomet II. said to the patriarch Gennadius: "The Holy Trinity makes thee, by the authority which I have received, ecumenical patriarch." These writers know very little of the Mussulmans, and are ignorant that our doctrine of the Trinity is held by them in the utmost abhorrence, insomuch that they think themselves defiled by only pronouncing the word, and that they look upon us as idolaters who worship many gods.

MAHOMET II.

The fortune of Mahomet failed him before Rhodes. The Knights of Malta as well as Scanderbeg had the honor of repelling the victorious arms of Mahomet II.

It was in 1480 that this conqueror attacked that island, formerly so famous, and its city, which was founded long before ancient Rome, in the most fertile spot and under the most agreeable climate; a city which had been governed by the children of Hercules, by Danaus, and by Cadmus, and was famous throughout the whole world for its brazen colossus, dedicated to the sun. This immense work was cast in brass by an Indian; it was a hundred feet high, and under its legs — each of which rested on a spacious mole of marble — the loftiest ships could sail in and out of the harbor. Rhodes had fallen under the power of the Saracens about the middle of the seventeenth century; a French knight named Foulques de Villaret, grand master of the Order of Malta, took it from them again in 1310; and another French knight, Peter d'Aubusson, defended it against the Turks.

It is remarkable that Mahomet II. employed a great number of renegade Christians in this expedition. The grand vizier himself, who laid siege to the place, was a Christian; and what is more strange, he was of the imperial house of Palæologus. One George Frupan, another Christian, had the direction of the works under the grand vizier's

orders. We never find an instance of Mussulmans changing their religion and serving in the Christian armies. But whence this difference? Is it that a religion for whose sake they have parted with a portion of their own flesh, and which they have sealed with their own blood, in a most painful operation, is for that reason more dear to them? Is it that the Asiatic conquerors had more respect shown them than the European powers? Or lastly, is it that in the times of ignorance the arms of Mussulmans were thought to be more favored of God than those of Christians, and that hence they inferred the successful cause to be the best?

Peter d'Aubusson at this time crowned his with triumph by obliging the grand vizier Messith Palæologus to raise the siege at the end of three months. Chalcondyles tells us, in his "History of the Turks," that as the besiegers were mounting the breach they beheld a golden cross in the air encircled with a glory, and a most beautiful woman robed in white: that, struck with this miraculous appearance, they threw down their arms and took to flight. It seems, however, more probable that the Turks would have been rather stimulated than intimidated with the sight of a beautiful woman, and that in fact the bravery of d'Aubusson and his knights was the only miracle that obliged the Turks to give way. But this is the usual manner of writing among the modern Greeks.

GREECE UNDER THE OTTOMANS.

Most of the stately monuments of Athens, which the ancient Romans imitated without being able to surpass, are either in ruin or totally lost; a little mosque is now built where the tomb of Themistocles stood, as we see a chapel of the Recollects built upon the ruins of the capitol of Rome. The ancient temple of Minerva is also converted into a mosque. The haven of Piræus is no more, an antique lion of marble is still left standing near it, and gives its name to the harbor of Porto Leone, which is little better than a heap of rubbish. The spot where the academy formerly stood is now covered with some gardeners' hovels. The beautiful remains of the stadium still inspire veneration and concern, and the temple of Ceres, which has escaped the injury of time, gives us a glimpse of what Athens formerly was. This city, which conquered the great Persian monarch, Xerxes, contains some seventeen thousand inhabitants, who crouch and tremble beneath the power of twelve hundred janissaries, who carry nothing but white wands in their hands. The Spartans, the ancient rivals and conquerors of Athens, are confounded in the general subjection. They struggled long for their liberty, and still seem to retain some of that ferocity and haughtiness of manners which Lycurgus taught them.

THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT.

The Koran, which is their civil as well as religious law, in the very beginning — namely in the fourth chapter — provides for the inheritance of the sons and daughters, and the traditional law and established custom supply whatever is not expressed in the Koran.

DEATH OF LOUIS XI.

It was one of the abuses of the ignorant practice of physic in 1483, which had been introduced by the Jews, to prescribe the drinking of the blood of young children to old persons troubled with apoplexy, leprosy or convulsions.

CHIVALRY OR KNIGHTHOOD.

The professors of the law erected themselves into an order, like the true knights at arms; this was a proof of the decline of ancient chivalry. The students took the name of "bachelors," after having maintained a thesis, and the doctors of law called themselves knights, a title ridiculous in itself, for originally the knight, "chevalier," or "cavalier," was a person who fought on horseback, which certainly could have no kind of connection with a civilian.

NOBILITY.

After what we have said in relation to feudal government, it remains to explain, as clearly as pos-

sible, what relates to the nobles, who were for a long time the sole possessors of fiefs.

The term "noble" at first was a title that neither conferred rights, nor was hereditary. *Nobilitas,* among the Romans, signified anything eminent or worthy of notice, and not an order of citizens. The senate was instituted to judge the knights, to fight on horseback when they were rich enough to keep a horse; and the plebeians were frequently knights, and sometimes senators.

Among the Gauls the government was in the hands of the principal officers of towns and the druids, to whom the people paid obedience. Every country has something different in its form of government. Those who say that all men are equal speak the strictest truth, if they mean that all men have an equal right to liberty, to the enjoyment of their own property, and to the protection of the laws. But they would be guilty of a great error if they thought that all men should be upon an equality in regard to rank and employments, when they are not so in regard to their talents or capacities. In this necessary inequality of conditions neither the ancients, nor indeed nine-tenths of the habitable globe, were acquainted with anything that bore the least resemblance to what we call nobility, as it is now established in Europe.

The laws and customs of this order have varied like all other things: we have already shown you that the most ancient hereditary nobility was that

of the patricians of Venice, who had seats in the council as early as the fifth century, before there was a doge; and if there are any descendants of these first magistrates, as it is said, they are undoubtedly the first nobles in Europe. It was the same in the ancient republics of Italy. This nobility was annexed to dignity and employ, and not to lands.

In every other country nobility became the portion of those who were possessed of lands. The herren of Germany, the ricoshombres of Spain, and the barons of France and England, enjoyed a hereditary nobility, merely because their feudal or non-feudal lands remained in their families. The titles of duke, count, viscount, marquis, were at first dignities or offices for life, which afterward passed from father to son, some sooner, others later.

Upon the decline of the family of Charlemagne almost all the states of Europe, the republics excepted, were governed as Germany is at present; and we have seen that every possessor of a fief exercised sovereign authority in his own territories, as far as he was able.

It is clear that sovereigns owed no service to any other, except what the petty ones engaged themselves to pay to the great. Thus a castellan, or sovereign lord of a castle, paid a pair of spurs to a viscount, who paid a falcon to a count, and this last some other mark of vassalage to a duke. These all acknowledged the king of the country for their

lord paramount, though he could not impose a tax upon any one of them. They owed the service of their persons, because they fought for their lands and for themselves, in fighting for the state and the chief of the state; and hence it comes that, at present, the new nobles, or those who have been ennobled without being possessors of lands, do not pay the tax laid on landholders, and known by the name of taille.

The masters of castles and lands, who composed the body of nobles in all countries, except in the republics, endeavored as much as possible to enslave the inhabitants of their lands; but the great towns always opposed them in this, as the magistrates of these towns would on no account be the serfs or vassals of a count, a baron, or a bishop, and much less of an abbot, who arrogated to himself the same honors as a baron or a count. The cities on the Rhine and the Rhone, and others of greater antiquity, such as Autun, Arles, and particularly Marseilles, flourished long before there were either lords or prelates. Their magistracy was several centuries prior to the existence of fiefs; but the barons and castellans got the better, almost everywhere, of the citizens; and although the magistrates were not serfs of the lord, they were at least his burghers; and hence it comes that in many ancient charters we find sheriffs, *échevins,* and mayors, entitle themselves burghers of a count, or a bishop, and king's burghers. These burghers could not change their

habitation without the permission of their lord, and by paying a considerable fine. This kind of servitude is still in force in Germany.

In like manner as the fiefs were distinguished into frank fiefs, which owed no service to the lord paramount, and into great and little fiefs, which did owe service; so there were also French burghers, that is to say, those who purchased the right of exemption from all service to their lord; grand burghers, who were possessed of civil employment, and petty burghers, who in many respects were slaves.

This form of government, which had been raised by insensible degrees, fell to decay in like manner, in several countries, and in others were entirely abolished.

The kings of France, for example, at first ennobled the burghers by conferring on them titles without lands. It is said there were found, among the collection of charters of France, letters of nobility granted by Philip I., in 1095, to a burgher of Paris, named Eudes le Maire; and St. Louis undoubtedly made his barber, La Brosse, noble, in creating him his chamberlain. Philip III., who ennobled his banker, Raoul, was not, as some say, the first king who assumed the privilege of changing the condition of his subjects. Philip the Fair did, in like manner, bestow the title of noble and esquire on the burgher Bertrand, and some others. This example was followed by all other crowned

heads. In 1339 Philip of Valois ennobled Simon de Luci, president of the parliament, and his wife, Nicole Taupin.

In 1350, King John ennobled William de Dormans, his chancellor; for, at this time, the office of clerk, lawyer, or of the long robe, gave no rank among nobility, notwithstanding that the clerks assumed the title of knights of the law, and bachelors of law. Thus we find John Pastourel, the king's advocate, ennobled, together with his wife, Sédille, by Charles V., in 1354.

On the other hand, the kings of England created counts and barons, who had neither county nor barony. The emperors exercised the same privilege in Italy; and after their example, the possessors of great fiefs took the same liberty. We have even an instance of a count de Foix, who assumed the power of ennobling, and by this means of correcting the deficiency of fortune in birth. He granted a patent of nobility to one Bertrand, his chancellor, and the descendants of this Bertrand called themselves noble; but it was at the option of the king and the rest of the nobles to acknowledge this title or not. Private lords of Orange, of Saluzzo, and many others, assumed the same licence.

The military body of sharpshooters and pioneers, in the reign of Charles VII., being exempted from the payment of taxes, thereupon assumed the titles of noble and esquire, without any permission, and these titles were afterward confirmed by time, which

establishes and overturns all customs and privileges; and several great families in France are descendants of these pioneers, who made themselves noble, and who merited that title by having served their country.

The emperors not only created nobles without lands, but counts palatine also. This title was given to the doctors of the universities. Charles IV. first introduced this custom, and Bartolus was the first on whom he conferred the title of count, which, however, no more entitled the descendants of this Bartolus to a seat in the chapters than it would those of the pioneers.

The popes, who pretended to be superior to the emperor, thought it concerned their dignity to create palatines and marquises also; and the legates who governed the provinces belonging to the holy see were very lavish in conferring these titles; hence it comes that there are so many more counts and marquises in Italy than feudal lords.

In France, after Philip the Fair had established the court called parliament, the lords of fiefs, who had seats in that court, were obliged to avail themselves of the assistance of clerks, taken either from among the lower rank of people, or the bodies of Frank, grand, or petty burghers. These clerks quickly assumed the title of knights and bachelors, in imitation of the nobility; but it is plain that the title of knight, which was given them by their clients, did not make them nobles at court, since

Attorney-General Pastourel and Chancellor Dormans were obliged to take patents of nobility for themselves. The students of the universities took the title of bachelor, after passing one examination, and that of licentiate after the second, not daring to assume that of knight.

It may appear to have been a great contradiction that the professors of the law, who had a right to sit in judgment on the nobles, should not themselves enjoy the right of nobility. This, however, was really the case in all countries; but in France, indeed, they enjoyed the same privileges of exemption as the nobles, during their own lives. It is true that their rights did not entitle them to sit in the general assembly of the states, as lords of fiefs, to carry a bird on their fief, or to serve in person in the field, but only consisted in not paying the taille, and in being called Messire.

France has always been remarkable for the mutability of its laws and customs, the former of which have never been sufficiently clear and well understood. The bar has always been in a fluctuating state. The courts of justice, which the French call parliaments, have frequently determined on the pretensions of children of officers of the long robe to the right of nobility. In 1540, the Parliament of Paris decreed that the children of the king's attorney, Jean Lemaistre, had a right to inherit as noble. Afterward, namely in 1578, it gave a like decree in favor of a chancellor named Menager; but the

civilians were divided in their opinion concerning these rights which had been insensibly annexed to the long robe by custom. Louet, a counsellor of the parliament, pretended that the children of magistrates could inherit only as commoners, and that none but grandchildren were entitled by birth-right to the rank of gentlemen.

The court, however, did not regulate its opinion by that of the civilians; for, in 1582, Henry III. declared by an edict that no one, except those of a noble house and family, should presume thence-forth to take the title of noble, or name of esquire.

Henry IV. showed himself less strict and more just when, in his edict concerning the regulation of the taxes, issued in the year 1600, he declared — though in very vague terms — that those who had served the nation in honorable posts might begin to give a right of nobility to their posterity.

This dispute, of so many ages standing, seemed happily terminated by Louis XIV., in July, 1644; but the event proved otherwise. We must here step a little aside from the order of time in order to throw as much light upon this matter as possible. You will find in the age of Louis XIV. the civil war that was excited in Paris during that prince's minority. It was during this war, and in 1644, that the Parliament of Paris, the chamber of accounts, the court of aids, and all the other courts of the provinces, obtained "the privileges of nobles by birth, gentlemen and barons of the kingdom," to

descend to the children of counsellors and presidents who should have served twenty years, or have died in the exercise of their offices. By this edict their rank seemed ascertained.

Could any one then think that Louis XIV. would, in 1669, himself sitting in parliament, resume these privileges, and only maintain all these officers of justice in the employment of their ancient privileges, revoking all the rights of nobility which he had granted to them in 1644, and afterward till this very year 1669?

Louis XIV., with all his power, has not been able to deprive such a number of citizens of a right which he bestowed on them under his own hand. It is not very easy for one man to oblige so many others to strip themselves of what they have looked upon as a part of their property. The edict of 1644 has therefore prevailed, and the courts of judicature have enjoyed the rights of nobility, the nation not choosing to contest this point with those whose office it is to judge the nation.

While the magistrates of the superior courts were thus disputing about their rank, from the year 1300, the burghers and officers of the towns were in a still more uncertain state. Charles V., called the Wise, for having gained the affections of the citizens of Paris, granted them several of the privileges of nobility, such as bearing coats of arms, and holding fiefs without paying the tax of *frank-fiefs;* but Henry continued this privilege to the provost of the

merchants, and four *échevins*, or sheriffs. The mayors and sheriffs of several towns in France enjoy the same rights, some by ancient customs, others by grant.

The most ancient grant of nobility given to the office of the pen in France was that of the king's secretaries. These were originally what the secretaries of state are at present, and were called clerks of the privy-council; now, as they wrote immediately under the kings, and forwarded all their orders, it appeared but just that they should enjoy some mark of distinction; and the privilege of nobility to which they were entitled after twenty years' service served as a model to the officers of the courts of judicature.

And here we principally perceive the extreme mutability of customs in France. The secretaries of state, who had originally no other right than that of signing the despatches, and who could not give any authenticity to these, but in virtue of their offices of clerks of the privy council, or the king's private notaries, are even become ministers of state, and the powerful instruments of the will of an all-powerful monarch. They have assumed the title of monseigneur, which was formerly given only to princes and to knights, and at the same time the king's secretaries are confined to the chancery, where their whole office consists in signing patents. The number of these useful members has been increased to three hundred, solely for the sake of raising

money; and this shameful method has perpetuated the French nobility in more than six thousand families, whose chiefs successively bought their offices for a stipulated sum.

A prodigious number of subjects, of other denominations, such as bankers, surgeons, merchants, household servants to princes, and clerks in offices, have obtained letters of nobility, and in the course of a few generations they wrote themselves, in any public proceedings, most high and mighty lords. Titles of this kind have debased the ancient nobility, and have done no great honor to the new.

The personal service of the ancient knights and esquires being at length wholly laid aside, and the general assembly of the states being no longer assembled, the privileges of both ancient and modern nobility are now limited to the payment of the poll-tax instead of the taille. Those whose fathers were neither sheriffs nor counsellors, nor ennobled persons, have been distinguished by appellations which have now become offensive, such as "villeins," and "roturiers," i. e., peasants.

The term "villein" comes from *"villa,"* a town or city, because formerly only nobles were lords of castles, and "roturier" from *"ruptura terræ,"* the breaking up of the land, husbandry; hence it has happened more than once that a lieutenant-general of the forces, a brave officer, covered with scars, has been obliged to pay the taille, while the son of a clerk in an office has enjoyed the same privileges as

the first officers of the crown. This shameful abuse was not remedied till 1752, by M. d'Argenson, secretary of war, who has served the army more than any other minister, and to whose merit I the more readily do justice in this place, as he has been lately degraded.

The ridiculous multiplicity of nobles, without office, or real nobility, this debasing distinction between the useless noble who pays nothing to the state, and the useful plebeian who contributes his share to the taxes; those posts which are only obtained by money, and which confer the empty title of esquire, are abuses which we do not meet with in any other country, and are the effects of a kind of frantic desire in a government to stamp a mark of degradation on the major part of the nation. In England, whoever is possessed of an estate of forty shillings a year in land is a freeholder, a free-born Englishman, and has a right to the nomination of his representatives in parliament. Every one who has not a trade is a gentleman, and there are no nobles, in the strictness of the term, but those who represent the ancient barons and peers of the realm in the upper house, or house of lords.

There are many free states in which the privileges of birth are of no advantage, and in which they admit only those of citizen; and even in the city of Basel, no gentleman can hold any office in the republic, unless he relinquishes his privileges of a

gentleman; and yet in every free state the magistrates only take the title of "noble." It is without doubt the most eminent nobility to have been at the head of a republic, from father to son; but such is the force of custom and prejudice that four hundred years' possession of so refined a dignity would not exempt the bearer in France from paying the taille, nor gain him admittance into the most inconsiderable chapter in Germany.

These customs form a complicated picture of human vanity and inconstancy; but happily it is the least melancholy part of the history of human kind.

TOURNAMENTS OR JOUSTS.

The tournaments, so long famous throughout Christendom, and so often anathematized, were games far more noble than the wrestling, the throwing of the disc, or the races of the Greeks, and not nearly so barbarous as the fights of gladiators among the Romans. Our tournaments bore no resemblance to these ancient diversions, but were much like the military exercises so common in old times, and the games which we find described in Homer. These warlike games first took their rise in Italy, in the reign of Theodoric, who suppressed the gladiators of the fifth century, not by a prohibitory edict, but by reproaching the Romans with this barbarous custom, in order that they might learn politeness of a Goth. After this there were frequent military

games in Italy, and particularly in the kingdom of Lombardy, as also petty combats, called "battagliole," which are still kept up in the cities of Venice and Pisa.

This custom was soon adopted by other nations. Nithard tells us, that in 870, the sons of Louis the Feeble celebrated their reconciliation by solemn tilts, which were afterward called tournaments; and in which, says he, "either party ran at each other full speed."

Henry the Fowler celebrated his coronation in 920 by one of these military entertainments, in which the parties fought on horseback. The preparations were as splendid as could be in a country so poor that it had not one fortified town but what had been built by the Romans, along the banks of the Rhine.

This custom became general in France, England, Spain, and among the Moorish nations. We know that Geoffrey de Precielli, a knight of Touraine, compiled certain laws to be observed in the celebration of these games, toward the end of the eleventh century. Some pretend that the name of tournament came from the city of Tours, for the combatants did not turn in these exercises as they did in the chariot races among the Greeks and Romans. But it is more probable, that tournament was derived from the sword with a turned point, "*ensis torneaticus,*" in law Latin, it not being permitted in these games to strike with any other pointed weapons but the lance. These games were, at their first institu-

tion, called by the French, *emprises,* feats of arms; the word feat showed that the combat was not to be mortal. They were also called "*behourds,*" from the name of the armor, or breastplate, with which their horses were covered. René of Anjou, king of Sicily and Jerusalem, and duke of Lorraine, though not in possession of a foot of either of these dominions, who was very fond of making verses and tournaments, made also several new rules and orders to be observed in those pastimes.

"Whosoever," says he, "will hold a tournament or joust must be a prince, or at least a high baron." The person who held the tournament sent a herald with a sword, to the prince whom he invited, desiring him to appoint judges of the field.

"Tournaments," says good King René, "may be of abundant utility, inasmuch as it may happen that some young knight or esquire, by his achievements therein, may acquire the good graces or greater affection of the lady whom he serveth."

Then follow the several ceremonies to be observed in these exercises, such as hanging the armorial ensigns or banners of the contending knights or esquires, at the windows or on the galleries round the lists.

Everything was done in honor of the ladies. According to the laws of good King René, they were to examine the arms of the combatants, and to distribute the prizes to the victors, and if any knight or esquire who was a candidate at these tournaments

had spoken ill of any lady, the other candidates beat him with their swords till the ladies cried out "grace," or enough! or else he was placed astride the rails that went round the list, as a soldier is now set on the wooden horse.

Besides these tournaments, there were likewise *"pas d'armes,"* and of these amusements King René was likewise the lawgiver. The *"pas d'armes"* of the dragon's throat, held near Chinon in 1446, was very famous. Some time after, that of the Castle of Merry Men, acquired still greater reputation. In these combats the trial of skill was to defend the entrance of a castle, or the passage of a high road. René had done much better to try his skill in entering Sicily or Lorraine. The device of this gallant prince was a chafing dish full of live coals, with these words, "full of ardent desire"; this ardent desire was not for the recovery of the dominions which he had lost, but for the charms of Mademoiselle Guy de Laval, with whom he was in love, and whom he married after the death of his wife, Isabella of Lorraine.

These ancient tournaments first gave rise to armorial bearings, about the beginning of the twelfth century: and whatever of that nature is supposed to have existed before that time is evidently fictitious, as are likewise the pretended laws of the Knights of the Round Table, so much talked of in romance. Every knight who presented himself at the list with his beaver or helmet closed for com-

bat, had some arbitrary figures or symbols painted on his shield, or coat of arms. Hence came the knights of the eagle, of the lion, etc., names so famous in the writings of the old novelists. The terms of blazonry, which at present seem such an absurd and barbarous jargon, were then words in common use.

If there was ever any reason for encouraging these warlike sports, it was in the times of the Crusades, when the exercise of arms was consecrated by necessity; and yet it was at this very period that the popes thought proper to prohibit them, and to anathematize an image of war, when they themselves were perpetually stirring up real ones. Among others, Nicholas III., that pontiff who had advised the massacre of the Sicilian Vespers, excommunicated all those who had engaged in, or were even present at a tournament held in France by Philip the Bold, in 1279. But there were other popes who approved of these combats; and King John of France entertained Pope Urban V. with one of these shows, when, after his return from his captivity in England, he went to take up the cross at Avignon on the mad project of fighting against the Turks, instead of setting himself to repair the disasters of his own kingdom.

Tournaments were not admitted into the Greek Empire till very late. The Greeks in general held all the customs of the West in contempt; they despised coats of arms, and treated the science of

heraldry as ridiculous. At length in 1326 the young emperor, Andronicus, having espoused a princess of the house of Savoy, some young gentlemen of that country gave a tournament at Constantinople, and from that the Greeks became accustomed to these military exercises. But the Turks were not to be resisted by tournaments; it required well-disciplined armies, and an able government, two things which the Greeks did not then possess.

The custom of holding tournaments kept its footing throughout all Europe. One of the most solemn and magnificent was that which was held at Boulogne-sur-Mer in 1309, on the occasion of the marriage of Isabella of France with King Edward II. of England. Edward III. held two very fine ones afterward in London. There was even one held at Paris in 1415, during the unfortunate reign of Charles VI. After this came those of René of Anjou, of which we have already spoken. They continued to be very frequent till the death of Henry II. of France, who, as we all know, was killed at one of these diversions in the palace of the Tournelles in 1559. One would imagine this accident should have put a final stop to them.

But the idle lives of the Greeks, joined to habit and a natural inclination, revived these bloody amusements at Orleans in less than a year after the tragical end of Henry II. Here Prince Henry de Bourbon Montpensier was the victim by a fall from his horse, which cost him his life. This put a total

stop to tournaments. But there still remained a faint image of them in the *pas d'armes* held by Charles IX. and Henry III., a year after the massacre of St. Bartholomew; for in those days festivals and proscriptions always went hand in hand. These *pas d'armes* were not attended with any danger, as the combatants fought only with blunt weapons. There was no tournament held on the marriage of the duke de Joyeuse in 1581; the word "tournament" is therefore improperly applied by de l'Étoile in the account he gives us of these diversions in his journal. The grandees did not fight at all; and what he calls a tournament was only a kind of warlike ballet, exhibited in the gardens of the Louvre by hired performers, and was a show given to the court, and not given by the court itself. The games which afterward went by the name of tournaments were only *carrousels.*

We may therefore date the suppression of tournaments from 1560. With them expired the spirit of chivalry, which appeared no more except in romance. This spirit prevailed greatly in the reigns of Francis I., and of the emperor Charles V. Philip II., who seldom stirred out of his own palace, encouraged no merit but that of a blind submission to his will. After the death of Henry II., France was plunged in fanaticism, and desolated by religious wars. Germany, divided between the Roman Catholic, Lutheran, and Calvinist factions, forgot

the ancient customs of chivalry; and in Italy they were lost in the spirit of intrigue.

The *pas d'armes,* the combats of the lists, and the imitation of the ancient tournaments, everywhere abolished, were succeeded by the bull-fight in Spain, and *carrousels* in France, Italy, and Germany. It would be superfluous to give a description of these games in this place, after that which we have given of the grand one held by Louis XIV., in the age of that monarch. The last *carrousel* which was held was that at Berlin in 1750, which was finely executed, and at which the brothers of the king of Prussia distinguished themselves greatly by their skill and address. All these military games are now things of the past; and of the many exercises which formerly rendered the body so robust and agile, none now remain but that of hunting, and even this is greatly neglected of late by the crowned heads of Europe. Pleasures have had their revolutions as well as every other thing.

DUELS.

The manner of educating our nobility greatly encouraged the practice of duelling, which has been of so long continuance, and had its beginning with our modern monarchies. The custom of deciding the merits of a cause by a legal combat was known only to the Christians of the West. We hear of no duels among those of the Eastern Church: and the

ancients were utter strangers to this barbarous practice. Cæsar indeed tells us in his "Commentaries" that two of his centurions, who had been always jealous of, and at enmity with, each other, decided their quarrel by a challenge, but this challenge was to show which of them should perform the most valiant feats in battle. One of them, after having slain a great number of the enemy with his own hand, being at length wounded and thrown to the ground himself, his competitor stepped in and rescued him. Such were the duels of the Romans.

The most ancient example of duels commanded by the sovereign is in the law of Gondebaut the Burgundian, a German by family, who had usurped the dukedom of Burgundy. This method of judgment was established throughout all the West. The old Catalan law quoted by the learned Ducange, and the German and Bavarian laws, mention several cases in which the parties were ordered to determine the dispute by single combat.

In the assizes held by the Crusaders at Jerusalem, we find the law run thus, "*Le garant que l'on lieve si come es par pu doit répondre à qui li lieve, Tu ments et te rendrai mort ô recréan et vessi mon gage*"— the meaning of which is, that the party accused shall say to the accuser, "thou liest, and I will either make thee recant, or thou shalt die by my hand, and here is my gage or token of defiance."

The ancient Norman customary says, "*Plainte de meurtre doit être faite; et si l'accusé nie, il en offre*

gage —— et bataille li doit être ottroyée par justice" — that is, complaint of murder must be made, and if the accused party denies the charge, he offers challenge, in which case the law must grant him combat.

It is evident by these laws that a man accused of one murder had a right to commit two. Even civil matters were often terminated by these bloody issues. If two parties disputed an inheritance with each other, he who had the best sword was held to have the best right; and differences between fellow citizens were decided like those between nations, by force of arms.

This law procedure experienced its changes like all other human institutions, whether wise or foolish. St. Louis enacted that an esquire, if accused by a villein, i. e., a peasant, might fight on horseback, and that a villein accused by an esquire must fight on foot. He exempts youths under twenty-one years of age from the laws of duelling, and old persons above sixty.

The women and priests had the naming of the champions who were to cut each other's throats in their name; and the success and honor of a family depended on a lucky choice. It sometimes happened that churchmen themselves offered and accepted combat, and fought within enclosed ground. By the constitutions of William the Conqueror, it appears that no clerk or abbot could engage in single combat without permission first had of their bishops,

"Si clericus duellum sine episcopi licentia susceperit, etc."

By the laws of St. Louis, and other precedents quoted by Ducange, it seems that those who were defeated were sometimes hanged, and sometimes beheaded or dismembered. These were called laws of honor, and authorized under the seal of this kingly saint, who is said to have wanted to abolish this custom worthy only of savages.

Justice was so far improved in the reign of Louis the Young, that he issued an order in 1168, that single combat should be ordered only in cases where the sum exceeded five crowns.

Philip the Fair published a large code of duels. If the appellant had a mind to fight by party, and named a champion to defend his cause, he was to say, "Our sovereign lord, the king, by legal essoin of my body — i e., through bodily weakness or disease — I claim and demand to have such a gentleman for my champion, who may in my presence, if so I can, or in my absence with the help of God, of our Holy Lady, and Monseigneur St. George, do true and loyal service in my name, and at my hazard, etc."

The two adversaries, or their champions in their stead, appeared on a day appointed within a list eighty paces in length, and forty wide, attended by the sergeants-at-arms. They were to come "mounted on horseback with their visors down, their shields slung across their shoulders, their falchions in their

hands, and their swords and daggers girt to their sides." They were enjoined to bear a crucifix, or an image of the virgin Mary, or of some saint in their banners. The heralds at arms made the spectators range themselves on the outside of the lists on foot, no one being permitted to be present on horseback, under pain of losing his horse if a nobleman, and if a commoner, of losing one ear.

The marshal of the field, assisted by a priest, swore the two combatants on a crucifix, that their right was good, and that they made use of no enchanted arms, taking Monseigneur St. George to witness, and renouncing heaven if they spoke falsely. These blasphemous ceremonies over, the marshal cried out with a loud voice, "Let them go on"; and then, throwing down a glove, the combatants went to work, and the arms of the vanquished were the marshal's fee.

Much the same kind of forms were observed in England. But in Germany they differed considerably. We read in the "Theatre of Honor," and in several other ancient chronicles, that, in general the village of Hall in Suabia was the place for these combats. The two parties applied to the assembly of the Notables, who are the chief magistrates of Suabia, for permission to enter the lists. On these occasions, they assigned to each combatant a godfather and a confessor; the people chanted a "libera"; a bier surrounded by torches, and designed to receive the lifeless corpse of the vanquished

person, was placed at one end of the lists. The same ceremonies were observed at Wartburg.

There were a great number of these close combats all over Europe till the thirteenth century. From the laws for these combats came the proverbial sayings: *Les mort sont tort; Les battus payent l'amende*"—"The dead are always in the wrong; and he that is beaten must pay all costs."

The Parliament of France sometimes ordered these combats; in the same manner as they now order proofs to be produced in writing, or by verbal evidence. In 1343, during the reign of Philip of Valois, the parliament came to a resolution that there was a lawful challenge, and a necessity of mortal combat, between the chevalier Dubois and the chevalier de Vervins, because the latter had endeavored to persuade Philip that "Dubois had bewitched his highness the king of France."

The duel between Légris and Carrouge, ordered by parliament in the reign of Charles VI., is famous even to this day. The dispute was whether Légris had lain with Carrouge's wife against her consent, or not?

Long afterward, namely, in 1442, in a solemn cause between the chevalier Patarin and the esquire Tachon, the parliament declared the affair in question did not require trial by combat; inasmuch as it required a peremptory accusation or charge, independent of all witnesses, to warrant a legal order for a duel.

A charge of this kind happened in the year 1454, in the person of one John Picard, who was accused of having defiled his own daughter, and was held by a decree to fight against his son-in-law, who was his accuser. The "Theatre of Honor and Chivalry" does not tell us the issue of this affair; but, be it as it might, the parliament ordered a charge of incest to be made good by parricide.

The bishops, and abbots likewise, in imitation of the parliaments and king's council, ordered close combats within their jurisdictions. Ives de Chartres reproaches the archbishop of Sens and the bishop of Orleans with having ordered too great a number of duels of this kind in civil matters. In the year 1100, Geoffrey du Mayne, bishop of Angers, obliged the monks of St. Serga to prove by combat their right to certain tithes, to which they laid claim; and the champion for the monks got the cause for them by soundly cudgelling his adversary.

Under the last race of the dukes of Burgundy, the burghers of the towns of Flanders enjoyed the privilege of proving their claims with a buckler and a club. They rubbed themselves all over with tallow or grease, because they had heard that the athletes of old anointed themselves with oil; they next dipped their hands into a tub or bucket of ashes, and then putting some sugar or honey into their mouths, they fought till one of them dropped, and he that was overcome was hanged.

The list of these single combats, ordered by sov-

ereigns, would swell this work to too great a size. King Francis I. issued a solemn order for two; and his son, Henry II., for two others. The first of those which Henry ordered was that between Jarnac and La Chataigneraye, in the year 1547. La Chataigneraye had accused Jarnac with lying with his mother-in-law; but was this a reason for a king, with the advice of his council, to order two of his subjects to butcher each other in his presence? But such were the manners of the times. The two champions swore, each on the holy gospels, that he fought in the cause of truth, and that he carried about him neither charms, spells, nor incantations. La Chataigneraye dying of his wounds, Henry II. made a vow never more to order duels; and the next year, he, in council, issued letters-patent, enjoining two young gentlemen to fight within the lists at Sedan, under the inspection of Marshal de la Marck, prince of Sedan. Henry thought he had not broken his oath, because he ordered the parties to go and murder each other out of his kingdom. The court of Lorraine formally opposed this honor conferred on Marshal de la Marck, and sent a protest to Sedan, alleging that all duels between the Rhine and the Meuse were, according to the laws of the empire, to be fought only by order, and in the presence, of the sovereign of Lorraine. Notwithstanding this, the field was marked out in Sedan. The motive of this order of Henry and his council, was that one of these gentlemen, named d'Ageures, had put his hand

into the breeches of a young man, named Fendilles. Fendilles, being wounded, confessed the accusation to have been false; upon which he was thrown out of the lists by the heralds at arms, and his arms broken; this was one of the punishments inflicted on the vanquished party. It would be difficult in our days to conceive how so ridiculous an affair could have been thought worthy of being decided by combat.

We must not confound these duels, which may be looked on as judgments of the Almighty, with the single combats between the chiefs of two armies, or the knights of two adverse parties. These latter were feats of arms, and military exploits, which have even been in vogue among all nations.

It is hard to determine whether we should rank several cartels of defiance between king and king, and prince and prince, in the number of legal duels, or among the exploits of chivalry: there have been instances of both kinds.

When Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Louis, and Peter of Aragon, defied each other to combat, after the massacre of the Sicilian Vespers, they agreed to stake the justice of their cause upon a single combat, with the permission of Pope Martin IV., as says John Baptist Carassa, in his "History of Naples." King Philip the Bald appointed Bordeaux for the place of combat. Nothing could more resemble the old legal duels. Charles of Anjou came to the rendezvous the morning of the day

appointed, and took out an action of default against his adversary, who did not arrive till the same evening. Peter, in return, took out another action of default against Charles, for not having waited for him. This singular challenge would have been ranked in the number of legal combats, if these two kings had had as great an inclination to fight with, as to brave, each other. The duel which Edward III. proposed to Philip of Valois comes within the rules of chivalry. Philip refused his challenge, alleging that a vassal could not challenge his lord paramount; but afterward, when the vassal had defeated the army of his lord, Philip offered him combat; and Edward, who was then conqueror, refused it, saying that he was too wise to put to the hazard of a single combat what he had gained by many battles.

The emperor Charles V. and Francis I. defied each other, sent mutual challenges, gave each other the "lie in the throat," but never fought. There is not a single instance of one king fighting against another within lists; but incredible is the number of knights who lavished their blood in these exploits.

We have already taken notice of the challenge of a duke of Bourbon, who to keep himself from idleness, proposed a combat to extremity in honor of the ladies.

One of the most famous challenges is that of John de Warchin, a knight of great renown, and seneschal or grand bailiff of Hainault, who caused to be fixed

up in all the capital cities of Europe, that he would fight *à outrance* (to extremity), either single, or himself with other five persons, with sword, lance, and battle-axe, "with the help of God, of the Holy Virgin, and Monseigneur St. George and his lady." The combat was to be in a village of Flanders, named Conchy; but no person appearing to enter the lists with this Flemish hero, he made a vow to go in search of adventure throughout France and Spain, constantly armed cap-a-pie; after which he went and made an offering of his bourdon, or staff, at the shrine of Monseigneur St. James in Galicia. By this you may see that the original of Quixotism was in Flanders.

The most horrible duel that was ever proposed, and which nevertheless, was the most excusable, was that of Arnold, or Arnaud, the last duke of Guelders, whose territories fell to the Burgundy branch of the house of France, afterward belonged to the Austro-Spanish branch, and one part of which is still free.

Adolphus, son of this duke Arnaud, took up arms against his father in 1470, in the time of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy; and this Adolphus declared publicly, in the presence of Charles, that his father had been in possession of the dukedom long enough, and that he was determined to enjoy it in his turn, and that, if his father would accept a small pension of three thousand florins, he would give it him willingly. Charles, who before

his misfortunes was very powerful, cited father and son to appear before him; the father, though old and infirm, threw down his pledge of combat, and demanded permission of the duke of Burgundy to fight his son in his court. The son accepted the challenge, but Charles would not permit the combat; and the father, having with great justice disinherited his unnatural and rebellious son, and given his dominions to Charles, that unfortunate prince lost them all, together with his own and his life, in a war still more unjust than any of the duels we have been relating.

The chief thing which contributed to the suppression of this custom was the new method of fighting introduced into the armies. King Henry IV. decried the use of lances at the battle of Ivry; and, at present, where the superiority of fire determines the fate of the day, a knight would have but an indifferent chance to present himself, with his lance couched for battle, before the front of a battalion. Military courage consisted formerly in keeping firm, and armed at all points, on a horse that was also in a manner cased with steel. In our days, it consists in marching slowly up to the mouth of the cannon that sometimes sweep away whole ranks at a discharge.

When the legal duels and the cartels of chivalry ceased, duels between private persons began to rage with great fury; and everyone took to himself, on the most trivial occasions, that licence which was

formerly wont to be demanded of parliaments, bishops, and kings.

Duels were much less frequent when courts of justice ordered them in a solemn manner; but when they came to be forbidden, they increased out of number. They soon came to have seconds in these combats, as in those in the times of chivalry.

One of the most famous we meet with in history, is that of Cailus, Maugiron, and Livarot, against Antragnet, Riberac, and Schomberg, in the reign of Henry III., at a place now called Place Royale, or the king's square, and where formerly stood the palace of Tournelles. After that, hardly a day passed without some duel happening; and this madness was carried so far that there were companies of gendarmes, into which no person was admitted who had not fought at least one duel, or would not take an oath to fight one before the expiration of the year. This horrid custom continued till the reign of Louis XIV.

SPAIN.

In the fifteenth century, the bastard Trastamare, a rebel against his lawful king, had been formerly acknowledged king himself, and they dethroned their lawful sovereign and declared his daughter illegitimate, though publicly born of the queen, and acknowledged by her father as his own child.

Never was injustice better colored, more fortu-

nate, or justified by more daring and prudent conduct. Isabella and Ferdinand established such a power in Spain as had never been known since the restoration of the Christians. The Moors were now in possession only of Granada, and drew near to their ruin in that part of Europe, while the Turks seemed on the point of subduing the other. The Christians had lost Spain in the beginning of the eighth century, by their mutual discords and divisions; the same cause drove the Moors at length out of Spain.

THE JEWS IN EUROPE.

After having seen how the Jews were treated in Spain, let us now examine what was their situation in the other nations of Europe. You know, that they everywhere exercised the business of brokers, and itinerant traders; as they did in ancient times in Babylon, Rome, and Alexandria. In France, their movable possessions belonged to the baron or lord, on whose lands they dwelt. "The movables of Jews," say the regulations of St. Louis, "belong to the baron."

A Jew could no more be taken from a baron, than his horse or his mule. The same law prevailed in Germany. The Jews are declared serfs by a declaration of Frederick II. A Jew was at first part of the domains, or property of the emperor; afterward every lord had his Jews.

Till the end of the fourteenth century, it was

established by the feudal laws in most parts of Europe, that when a Jew embraced Christianity his effects were confiscated for the use of his lord. This, you will say, was no efficacious method to promote their conversion; but, at all events, the baron was to be indemnified for the loss of his Jew.

In great towns, and especially in the imperial cities, they had their synagogues, and enjoyed some of the privilege of citizens: but then you may be sure they paid handsomely for them; and when they became very rich, especial care was taken to accuse them of having crucified a young child on a Good Friday. On this accusation, which never failed to please the populace, a law was made in several of the towns of Languedoc and Provence, permitting any one to beat or ill-use a Jew, if he was found in the streets from Good Friday till Easter Day.

Their chief vocation having been from time immemorial the lending of money on pledges, they were forbidden to lend upon any church ornaments, or on bloody or wet linen or clothes. In 1215, the Lateran Council ordered that they should carry the figure of a small wheel on their breasts, to distinguish them from Christians. These badges were changed at different times; but they were always obliged to wear something by which they might be known. They were expressly forbidden to take any maid-servants or nurses who were Christians, or even concubines of that religion, and there were

some countries in which they burned those women who had lain with a Jew man, or the man who had lain with a Jew woman, for this unanswerable reason, which we find given by the great civilian, Gallus: "It is the same thing to lie with a Jew as with a dog."

Whenever they had any lawsuit against a Christian, they were obliged to swear by Sabaoth, Eloi, and Adonai, and the ten names of God, and they were threatened with the tertian, quartan, and quotidian ague if they did not speak the truth; and, if they were cast, they were sure to be hanged between two dogs.

In England they were permitted to take mortgages upon estates in the country, for moneys lent thereon; and, in the *"Monasticum Anglicanum,"* we find that it cost six marks sterling to redeem any estate out of the hands of a Jewish mortgagee.

They were at different times driven out of almost all the towns in Christendom, and almost as continually recalled. Rome alone has constantly kept them within her bosom. They were totally driven out of France, in 1394, by Charles VI., and could never afterward obtain permission to reside in Paris, where they had formerly occupied several whole streets. In Metz and Bordeaux they are permitted the use of synagogues, only because they were found in possession of that privilege at the time these towns were annexed to the crown of France; but they have constantly remained uninterrupted in Avignon,

which is a part of the pope's territories. In a word, they were everywhere usurers, in virtue of the privilege and benediction of their own law, and everywhere held in detestation on that very account.

Their famous rabbis, Maimonides, Abarbanel, Aben-Ezra, and others, in vain repeated to the Christians, in all their writings: "We are your fathers, our Scripture is yours, our books are read in your churches, and our hymns are sung there." They were answered only by being plundered, exiled, and hanged between two dogs. In Spain and Portugal it became the fashion to burn these unhappy people. Later times have been more favorable to them, especially in Holland and England; where they are suffered to enjoy their riches, and all the rights of society, of which no one is deprived in those countries. They were even on the point of obtaining a general act of naturalization in England, in 1750, nay, the act had actually passed for that purpose; but, at length, the universal cry of the nation, and the ridicule that was cast upon the scheme, caused it to be repealed. Numberless were the burlesque prints and satirical writings published on this occasion, in some of which my lord Aaron and Viscount Judah were represented sitting in the house of lords; the people laughed, and the Jews comforted themselves with being rich and free.

It is no slight proof of the capriciousness of the human mind to see the descendants of Jacob carried in procession to be burned at Lisbon, and at the

same time candidates for the most distinguished privileges of a British subject. In Turkey they are neither burned nor admitted to honors; but they have made themselves sole masters of the commerce of that country, and neither the French, the Venetians, the English, nor the Dutch, can buy or sell there, but through the intervention of the Jews. It was an inevitable consequence of the legislation of this people that they were to be conquerors or slaves. They were commanded to hold every other nation in abhorrence, and to look upon themselves as defiled if they only ate out of the same dish with any one of a different faith. They gave the name of "the Nations" to about twenty or thirty small villages round about them, which they were determined to destroy, and with which they thought it a crime to have anything in common. When their eyes were a little opened by other victorious nations, who taught them to their cost that the world was larger than they imagined, their very law made them enemies to these nations, and, in short, to all mankind. They obstinately persevered in their absurd policy when it was to their interest to have changed it; their superstition increased with their misfortunes; and their conquerors were an uncircumcised people. A Jew thought himself as much forbidden to eat out of the same dish with a Roman as with an Amalekite. They retained all their customs, which were diametrically opposite to those of society in general; and accordingly they were

deservedly treated as a people who set themselves up against all others.

BOHEMIANS, EGYPTIANS, AND GYPSIES.

There was at this time another petty nation as unsettled and as much scattered as the Jews, and who followed another method of rapine. These were a collection of strange people known in France by the name of Bohemians, in other countries they were called Egyptians, Gypsies, or Syrians, and in Italy Zingani, or Zingari. They wandered in troops or companies from one end of Europe to the other, with tabors and pipes, and castanets, dancing, singing, telling fortunes, showing tricks of legerdemain, curing diseases with certain cant words, and stealing everything that came in their way; they observed certain religious ceremonies among themselves, of which neither they nor any one else knew the meaning, or the origin. These people have dwindled away considerably of late years, since mankind have begun to throw off the infatuated notions of witchcraft, talismans, predictions, and possessions by evil spirits. There are still some few of them to be met with, but they have become very scarce. Nothing appears more probable than that those wretches were a remnant of the ancient priests and priestesses of Isis, intermixed with those of the goddess of the Assyrians. These wandering tribes, as much despised by the Romans as their ancestors

had formerly been reverenced, carried their ceremonies and their mercenary superstitions with them all over the world. True missionaries-errant of the faith they professed, they ran from province to province to make converts of those upon whom mere chance had confirmed their predictions, or who, having recovered by the course of nature from some slight disorders, imagined they owed their cure to the miraculous efficacy of certain unintelligible words and signs of these false prophets. The description which Apuleius gives us of these vagabond prophets and prophetesses is the very picture of what those wandering tribes, called Bohemians or gypsies, have for a long time been in every country in Europe. Their castanets and tabor and pipe are the cymbals and crotals of the Isean and Syrian priests. Apuleius, who spent most of his life in searching after religious and magic secrets, speaks of the predictions, talismans, ceremonies, dances, and songs of these pilgrim priests, and, in particular, remarks their great skill in stealing whatever came in their way, either in the court-yards, or houses, where they were admitted.

When Christianity took the place of the religion of Numa, and after Theodosius had destroyed the famous temple of Serapis in Egypt, some of the Egyptian priests joined themselves to those of the goddess Cybele, and the goddess of the Assyrians, and went about begging alms, in the same manner as has been since practised by our mendicant friars;

but as they could not expect any assistance from the Christians, they found it necessary to add the trade of quack-doctors to that of pilgrim, and practised chiromancy or palmistry, and formed several singular dances. Mankind loved to be amused and deceived, and therefore these offsprings of the ancient priests have continued even to the present time. Such has been the end of the ancient religion of Isis and Osiris, whose very names still impress respect. This religion, altogether emblematic and highly venerable, in its origin as early as the days of Cyrus, degenerated into a medley of ridiculous and superstitious customs. It fell into still greater contempt under the Ptolemys, and, in the time of the Romans, was in a state of the utmost abjection; and, at length, has been wholly left to a band of thieves and pickpockets. The same fate perhaps will attend the Jews, when civil society becomes more improved, and every nation carries on its own trade, without any longer sharing the fruits of their labor and industry with those wandering brokers; then, I say, the Jewish race must naturally diminish. The more wealthy among them begin already to despise the superstitions of their own sect, and, in a short time, they will be left wholly to themselves; a people destitute of arts and laws, and when they are no longer permitted to fatten on our indolence, they will be unable to keep up a separate society: for want of practice, they will forget their old jargon, which is no other than a corrupt medley

of Hebrew and Syriac; and, lost even to the knowledge of their own books, they will in time be confounded among the dregs of the people, with whom they live.

ITALY IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

From the affair of the assassination of the Medici family, we may form a clear idea of the spirit and manner of these times; Sixtus IV. was then sovereign pontiff. I shall not here enter into an inquiry, as Machiavelli has done, whether the Riarios, whom he caused to pass for his nephews, were his own children or not; nor with Michael Brutus, whether he begot them while he was only a Cordelier friar? It is sufficient to lead us to the knowledge of facts that we are certain that he sacrificed one of these supposed nephews to the interests of Jerome Riario. We have elsewhere observed that the jurisdiction of the holy see was not by a great deal so extensive as it is at present. Sixtus IV. wanted to strip the lords of Imola and Friuli of their possessions to enrich Jerome. The two brothers Medici supported these princes with money and forces. The pope thought he could not secure his authority in Italy, but by the ruin of the Medici family. A banker of Florence, named Piazzi, who had settled at Rome and who was an enemy to the two brothers, offered his service to the pope to get them assassinated. Cardinal Raphael Riario, Jerome's

brother, was sent to Florence to manage the plot, of which Salviati, archbishop of that city, had already formed the plan; and Stephano, a dependent of the archbishop, assumed the execution of it. The conspirators pitched upon a day that a grand festival was to be held in the Church of Santa Reparata, for the massacre of the Medici and their friends, in the manner that the assassins of Galeas Sforza had made choice of the cathedral of Milan, and the festival of St. Stephen, to murder that prince at the foot of the altar. The instant of the elevation of the host was the time pitched upon to strike the blow, as then, the people being prostrate, and attentive to the appearance of their God, were not in a condition to obstruct the execution. Accordingly, at that very moment, Julian de Medici was stabbed by a brother of Piazzi, and other of the conspirators. Lorenzo de Medici was wounded by Stephano, but not so mortally but that he had strength enough to take refuge in the sacristy, or vestry.

When we see a pope, an archbishop, and a priest, meditating such a crime, and choosing for the perpetration of it the very instant when their God shows himself to them in his temple, we cannot doubt the atheism of those times. Certainly, if they had thought that their Creator did really appear to them under the form of the consecrated bread, they would not have dared to offer such an insult to him: but history shows us that, though the common people adored this mystery, the gran-

dees and statesmen laughed at it. They thought like the ancient Romans in the time of Cæsar; and from the force of their own passions concluded there was no religion. They all made use of this horrible argument: Men have taught us nothing but falsehoods, therefore there cannot be a God. Thus the religion of nature was stifled in the hearts of almost all those who governed in those days; and no age ever produced so many murders, poisonings, treasons, and debauchery of all kind.

The people of Florence, who loved the family of Medici, revenged their deaths, with interest, on the bloody perpetrators. The bishop was hanged at one of the windows of the public palace. Lorenzo had the generosity, or prudence, to save the life of the cardinal's nephew, whom the enraged people were going to put to death, at the foot of that very altar which he had himself stained with blood, and whither he now fled for safety.

One extraordinary circumstance attending this conspiracy was, that Bernard Bendini, one of the assassins, who had retired into Turkey, was afterward delivered up to Lorenzo de Medici, by order of Sultan Bajazet; who thus became an instrument of punishing a crime of which Pope Sixtus had been the author. But, what was less extraordinary, the pope excommunicated the Florentines for having punished a bloody conspiracy, and even began war against them for it, which was happily terminated by the prudence of Medici. You may see by this

what purposes religion and the papal censure was made to serve in those days — days that teemed with crimes whose heinousness exceeded the utmost stretch of imagination.

Lorenzo de Medici equalled the great Cosmo in liberality, and surpassed him in magnificence. Florence might then be said to resemble ancient Athens. There were, at one and the same time, the prince Pico of Mirandola, Politian, Marsilio Ficino, Landino, Lascaris, Calcondillo, Marcillo, whom Lorenzo had gathered about him, and who were perhaps superior to the seven sages of Greece, so much boasted of in history.

His son, Peter, like him, held the supreme authority in Florence, and was almost sovereign of Tuscany, at the time the French made their expedition to Naples; but he was in much less credit than either of his predecessors or descendants.

LEAGUE OF CAMBRAY.

In 1508, almost all the powers who were at enmity with each other suspended their disputes to join in the general league, set on foot at Cambray, against the Venetians. The Turk, who was the natural enemy of this republic, but then at peace with her, was the only power who did not accede to this treaty. Never were so many kings in league against ancient Rome. Venice was as rich as all the con-

federates together. To this resource she trusted, and to that dissension which she rightly judged would speedily ensue among so many confederates. It was in her power to pacify Julius II., who was the chief promoter of this league; but she disdained to make any concession, and boldly waited the coming of the storm. This was perhaps the only time this republic was rich.

JULIUS II. VS. LOUIS XIV.

The operations of Julius II. against Louis XIV. were begun on the side of Bologna and Ferrara. Julius II. had already taken Bologna from the Bentivoglios, and he wanted to make himself master of Ferrara. By these invasions he destroyed the design he had formed of driving all strangers out of Italy; for the people of Bologna and Ferrara, upon seeing themselves attacked, naturally had recourse to the French for assistance against him, who, after having been the avenger of Italy, had become its oppressor. His ambition, which had overweighed all other considerations, plunged Italy into those calamities, from which it would have been his glory to have delivered her, and suffered his interest so far to get the better of prudence and decency as to admit into Bologna a numerous body of Turks, who had come thither against the French army, commanded by Chaumont d'Amboise. We are indebted for the knowledge of this singular fact to Paul

Jove, bishop of Nocera, who was an eye-witness thereof. Several former popes had taken up arms against the Turks. Julius was the first who made use of their assistance.

CUSTOMS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

The Greek comedy and tragedy were revived as early as the beginning of the sixteenth century, the former by Cardinal Bibbiena, and the latter by Trissino, archbishop of Beneventum. Rucellai soon followed the archbishop. Some of the best pieces of Plautus were translated at Venice, and into verse, as was proper, since it was in verse that Plautus wrote them. They were performed with success on the Venetian stage, and in those monasteries where polite learning was cultivated.

The Italians imitated the Greek tragedians and Latin comedians, but could not equal them. However, they invented a new kind of pastoral, in which they had no guide, and wherein they have never been surpassed. The "*Aminta*" of Tasso, and Guarini's "*Pastor Fido*," still continue to be the delight of all who understand the Italian tongue.

Almost all the civilized nations of Europe began at that time to see the necessity of encouraging the theatrical art, which promotes society, softens the manners, and inculcates morality under the veil of pleasure. The Spaniards came somewhat near to

the Italians, but they could not produce anything regular. There was a theatre in England, but it was still more wild and irregular than that of the Spaniards. Shakespeare, indeed, brought it into some degree of credit toward the end of the sixteenth century. His genius pierced through the barbarous darkness of the times, as that of Lope de Vega did in Spain. It is much to be lamented that we find so much more barbarism than real genius in the works of Shakespeare: whence comes it that almost every one in Stockholm and St. Petersburg knows whole scenes of the *"Pastor Fido"* by heart, while those of Shakespeare have never passed the limits of their sea-girt island? The reason is obvious; real merit will be sought after by all nations; a people whose drama, music and painting were adapted only to their own taste, and exploded by every other polite nation, could not justly flatter themselves with having the gift of good taste.

The Italians were particularly successful in those poetical productions which were remarkable for their great length, which we would imagine were the most difficult of all, on account of the constant sameness of the verse, and stanzas, which seems to be a cramp to their genius.

PRINTING IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

In 1474 the parliament ordered all the books which had been brought to Paris, by a factor from Mentz, to be seized.

Certainly a step of this kind would not have been taken in the more enlightened times; but such has always been the fate of public bodies, the most learned for their wisdom, who have acted on no other foundation than that of ancient forms and customs. Everything that has the appearance of an innovation startles them. They stand up in opposition to the rising arts, withstand every truth that seems contradictory to the errors in which they have been trained from their youth, and combat everything that does not fall in with the taste and manners of old times. It was this very kind of spirit that influenced the same parliament so long, and so vehemently, to oppose the reformation of the calendar; to forbid the teaching of any other tenets than those of Aristotle; to prohibit the administration of Venato; that obliged the court to issue several letters of Jussieu; to make them register the patent of nobility granted to one of the Montmorency family, and that induced them to oppose, for a considerable time, the establishment of the French academy. As no one single member of a public body is responsible for the proceedings of that body, the most irrational councils sometimes pass uncon-

tradicted. This made the duke of Sully say, in his "Memoirs," "If Wisdom were to descend to earth, she would rather fix her residence in the head than in those of a collective body."

Louis XI., who never acted badly, where his interest was not concerned, and who was always governed by reason, when not blinded by his passions, took this affair from the parliament; he would not suffer the French nation to be forever dishonored by prohibiting the art of printing; but ordered the artists of Mentz to be paid the full price of their books.

About a hundred artists of every kind formed that age, which the Italians distinguished by the name of the Seicento. Several of these great geniuses were unfortunate, and were persecuted; but posterity has avenged their memories. Their age, like all other ages, produced crimes and calamities, but had that advantage over other ages which superiority of genius always bestows. Thus it happened with the age that produced Sophocles and Demosthenes, and with that which gave the world a Virgil and a Cato. These men who, in their respective spheres, were the preceptors of the world, could not keep Alexander from killing Clytus, nor Augustus from signing prescriptions. Neither could Racine, Corneille, and La Fontaine, prevent Louis XIV. from committing great faults. Crimes and disasters

have been the produce of every age; fine arts have had only four.

FRANCIS I. AT LIBERTY.

Henry d'Albret, who was kept a prisoner in Pavia, found means to escape, and returned to France. Francis I., by being better guarded in Madrid, was obliged to purchase his liberty, by ceding to the emperor the whole duchy of Burgundy, a part of Franche-Comté, all the places he laid claim to on the other side of the Alps, the lordships of Flanders and Artois, the towns of Arras, Lille, Tournay, Mortagne, Hedin, St. Arnent, and Ochie; and, to complete his humiliation, he married, while in prison, the sister of the emperor, his conqueror. The count de Lanoy, one of the emperor's generals, who had taken him prisoner, entered his apartment, booted, to compel him to sign this forced contract of marriage. The Treaty of Madrid proved as fatal as that of Bretigny had been; but Francis I., when at liberty, did not, like King John, fulfil his engagements.

This unfortunate affair redounded little to the glory of Francis I. He had given his promise to Charles V. to put him in possession of Burgundy, a promise made with weakness, and falsified with reason, though with disgrace. He underwent a severe reproach from the emperor for his breach of

faith; and though he replied, "You lie in your throat, and every time you say so, you lie," the law of policy was for Francis; but the law of chivalry was against him.

In 1535, Francis I. caused a number of poor Lutherans to be burned at Paris. Father Daniel puts in the margin of his history, "An Example of Piety." This example of piety consisted in suspending the poor victims on a high gallows, from which they were lowered several times into the fire, till they were thus gradually consumed. This was an example indeed, but of the most refined barbarity, and that fills us with as much horror against the historians who praise it, as against the judges who ordered it.

It is moreover said that Francis declared publicly that he would put his own children to death if they were heretics; and yet, in the height of these very proceedings, he wrote to the famous Melanchthon, one of the founders of the Lutheran religion, inviting him to his court.

Charles V. gave an example of a very different conduct. Although the Lutherans were his professed enemies, so far was he from delivering torches into the hands of the executioners, or loading Christians with chains, that, on the contrary, he delivered from their captivity in Tunis 18,000 Christian slaves, Protestants as well as Catholics.

THE GENEVANS.

The Genevans maintained that a bishop has no right to sovereign authority; that the apostles were not princes; and that if, during the times of anarchy and barbarism, bishops had usurped the dominion of provinces, the people in more enlightened times had an undoubted right to take them from them again.

CHARLES V. AND FRANCIS I.

There were many horrible transactions in 1536, and some that were ridiculous.

Francis, the dauphin, son of Francis I., died of pleurisy. One Montecuculi, an Italian, his cupbearer, is accused of having poisoned him, and Charles V. is universally looked upon as the author of this murder. But what advantage could the emperor have reaped by procuring the death of a prince of only eighteen years of age, who had never made any noise in the world, and who, moreover, had a brother? However, Montecuculi was drawn asunder by horses. This is the horrible part of the affair; now for the ridiculous:

Francis I., who, by the Treaty of Madrid, was no longer lord of Artois and Flanders, and who was set at liberty only on condition of relinquishing that title, caused the emperor to be summoned to appear

before the Parliament of Paris, in quality of count of Flanders and Artois, his vassal. The attorney-general, Cappel, took out a decree against Charles for non-appearance, and the parliament declared him a rebel.

FREDERICK BARBAROSSA.

Barbarossa, in 1543, exercised absolute authority in Toulon. He caused a great house to be converted into a Turkish mosque; thus the same king who had suffered so many Christians of the Lutheran faith to perish in his kingdom by the most cruel torments, permitted the Mahometans the free exercise of their religion within his dominions. This is the piety so praised by Father Daniel; and thus it is that historians disgrace their characters. A historian who was at the same time a good member of society would have acknowledged that maxims of state had made it necessary to burn the Lutherans, and show countenance to the Mahometans.

DEATH OF FRANCIS I.

Under Francis I. France began to emerge from barbarism, and its language became more refined. There are still extant some of the productions of those times, which, if they have not all the regularity requisite, have at least the merit of a sprightly simplicity; such are the epigrams of the

bishop St. Gelais, Clement Marot, and Francis I. himself. The following lines were written by him under a picture of the famous Agnes Sorel:

Gentille Agnès plus d'honneur en mérite,
La cause étant de France recouvrer,
Que ce que peut dedans un cloître ouvrer
Close nonnain ou bien dévot hermite.

He likewise composed memoirs on military discipline, at the time he was endeavoring to establish in France the Roman legions; but he was obliged to fetch painters, sculptors, and architects from Italy.

He proposed building the palace of the Louvre, but he had scarce time to lay the first stone. His magnificent design of a royal college could not be executed, but, nevertheless, his bounty established schools for teaching the Greek and Hebrew languages and geometry, which the universities were not able to teach. There was not a single person in France, before his time, who could so much as read the Greek characters.

In the schools, in the courts of justice, in the public acts, and in private contracts, they made use of no other than a bad Latin, called the Latin of the middle age, which was a remnant of the ancient barbarous dialect of the Franks, Lombards, Germans, Goths, and English, who knew neither how to form a regular language, nor how to speak good Latin.

Rudolph of Hapsburg had ordered in Germany that all pleadings and decrees should be in the language of the country. The same custom was estab-

lished in Castile, by Alphonso the Wise, and by Edward III. in England. At length Francis I. also ordered that those who had the misfortune to be engaged in lawsuits should at least have the satisfaction of reading their ruin in their own mother-tongue. But the refinement of the French tongue was not owing to this order; it is to the spirit of the king and his court that we are indebted for this improvement.

CHARLES V.

It has been said of Charles V., in 1558, that his brain was hurt by his retirement in the monastery of Yuste; and indeed his passing his time in hanging and unhanging pendulums, and in teasing the novices, in playing the farce of his own interment, in wrapping himself up in a winding-sheet, and in chanting forth his own funeral anthem, was no great proof of a sound mind. The man who had made Europe and Africa tremble, and who had repulsed the conqueror of Persia, died mad. His whole family were instances of the excess of human weakness.

His grandfather, Maximilian, wanted to be made pope. His mother, Joan, went mad, and was confined, and he shut himself up among a parcel of monks, where he died as mad as his mother.

But here let us not forget that Pope Paul IV. would never acknowledge as emperor Ferdinand I.,

in whose favor his brother Charles had resigned the royal dignity. This pontiff pretended that Charles had no power to abdicate without his permission. The archbishop, elector of Mentz, chancellor of the empire, issued all his acts and decrees in the name of Charles V., to the day of that prince's death. This is the final epoch of the pretensions which the popes had so long set up to the disposal of the empire. Had we not already seen so many examples of these pretensions, we should be apt to imagine that Paul IV. had his brain more injured than even Charles V.

LEO X.

In the hundred articles of complaint exhibited some time before by the imperial diet, during the reign of Maximilian I., against the abuses of the Church, there is one that charges the bishops with selling to the inferior clergy, for the yearly payment of one crown, the right of keeping a mistress, which sum was to be paid whether they made use of this indulgence or not.

The birth of learning in part of Germany, in London, and afterward in Paris, in consequence of the improvement of the art of printing, laid the foundation for the ruin of the ecclesiastical monarchy. Certain natives of lower Germany, whom the Italians had always held as barbarians, were the first to accustom the minds of the people to

diffuse what had once been the object of their veneration. Erasmus, notwithstanding he had himself been for a considerable time a monk, rather for that very reason, exposed these gentry in so ridiculous a light in most of his writings that they were never able to get the better of it. The author of "Letters of Obscure Men" diverted all Germany at the expense of the Italians. The latter, till that time, thought the Germans not capable of being even good jokers; but they were now cured of their error, and the German pleasantry prepared the way for a revolution that proved of the most serious consequence to Italy.

LUTHER.

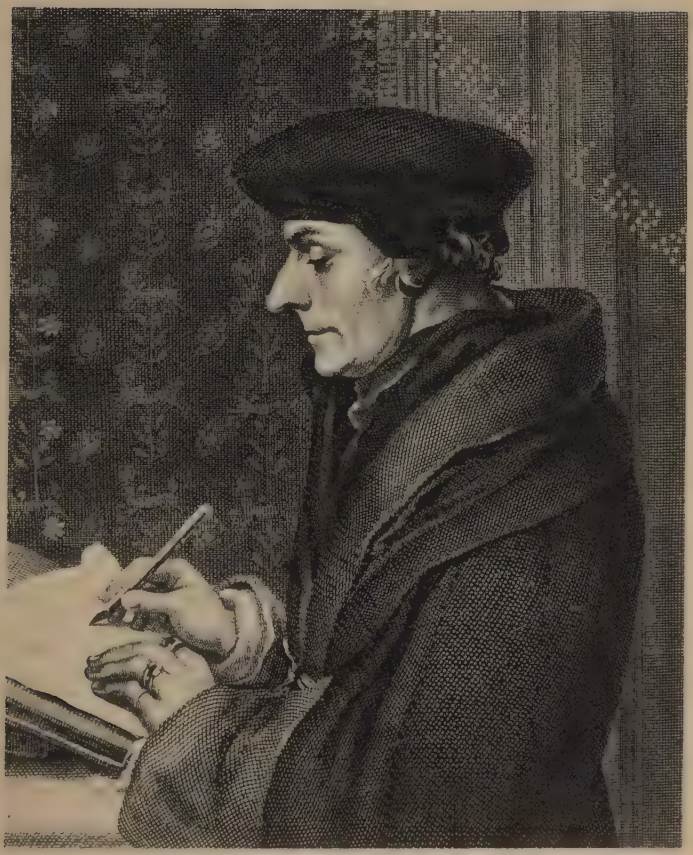
You may have observed that all the disputes about religion came hitherto from the priest, for Pietro Valdo, the merchant of Lyons, who passes for the author of the sect of the Vaudois, was not disputatious; he only assembled together his brethren, and encouraged them to persist in what they had begun. He himself was a follower of the doctrine of Bérenger, of Charles, bishop of Turin, and of several others of the same opinion; and it was not till after Luther's time that such crowds of laymen began to take up the business of teachers, in consequence of the various translations of the Bible, which, as they differed in their interpretations,

gave rise to as many different opinions as there were different passages to explain.

The Lutherans wanted new versions of the Bible, in all the modern languages, and that these versions should be purged from all the inaccuracies and errors with which the Vulgate is charged. In fact, when the council set about printing the common version, the six persons appointed to superintend the work discovered no less than eight thousand faults in the old version, and several learned men pretended there were many more; so that at length the council declared the Vulgate version to be authentic, without being at the pains of the proposed correction. The present German Bible was translated by Luther from the original Hebrew; but it is said he knew very little of Hebrew, and that his translation is much more faulty than the Vulgate.

Luther insisted that all monastic vows should be set aside, because not of primitive institution; that priests should be allowed to marry, because some of the apostles had married wives; that the laity should partake of the cup, because Jesus said, "Drink, all of ye;" that no worship should be paid to images, because Christ worshipped no image. In a word, he agreed with the Church of Rome in no points but those of the trinity, baptism, the incarnation, and the resurrection; points which, never-

ERASMUS



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theless, had been formerly subjects of the sharpest disputes, and some of them had been actually controverted in late days, so that there is no one point of devotion concerning which mankind have not been divided at one time or another.

Had both sides confined themselves to invectives and abuse, Luther would have done less hurt to the Church of Rome than Erasmus; but some bold doctors having joined Luther, raised their voices, and began to exclaim not only against the dogmas of schools, but also against the right which the popes, ever since the time of Gregory VII., had assumed to themselves, of disposing of kingdoms. They likewise inveighed against the shameful traffic made of everything belonging to religion, against public and private oppression, and both in their writings and from their pulpits drew a moving picture of five hundred years of persecution. They represented Germany bathed in blood through the quarrels between the diadem and the tiara, the people treated like wild beasts, and heaven opened or shut for money, by wretches guilty of incest, murder, and poisoning. With what face, said they, could Alexander VI., the horror and scandal of human kind, dare to call himself the vicar of God? or how could Leo X., sunk in the most shameful pleasure, presume to take that title?

The people were at length awakened by these repeated cries, and the German doctors stirred up

a greater hatred against new Rome than ever Varus had done against the old in the same country.

ZUINGLIUS.

When we see a people, of all in Europe the least restless and changeable, quit on a sudden one religion to embrace another, there must certainly have been some particular cause to make so violent an impression on all minds. That which brought about so sudden a revolution in the opinions of the people of Switzerland, was as follows:

The orders of Franciscans and Dominicans had been at open enmity with each other, ever since the thirteenth century. The latter had lost a great part of their credit with the people on account of their not paying so much honor to the Virgin Mary as their antagonists, the Cordeliers or Franciscans, and because, with St. Thomas d'Aquinas, the monk, they denied that she had been born without sin. The Franciscans, on the other hand, gained ground daily by preaching upon all occasions the doctrine of immaculate conception, maintained by St. Bonaventura. The mutual hatred and animosity between these two orders was so great that, in the year 1503, a Franciscan being one day preaching at Frankfort on the subject of the blessed Virgin, and seeing a Dominican enter the church, he cried out in the midst of his sermon that he blessed God he was not of that order

which depreciated the mother of God, and poisoned kings and emperors with the consecrated elements. The Dominican, whose name was Vigan, replied with a loud voice that the Franciscan was a liar and a heretic. Upon this the Franciscan quit his pulpit, gathered the people together, and drove his enemy out of the church, after beating him in such a manner with a crucifix that he was left dead at the door. The next year, 1504, the Dominicans held a chapter of their order at Wimpfen, in which it was resolved to take vengeance on the Franciscans, and to destroy their credit, and even their doctrine, by bringing the Virgin Mary herself into the field against them. Berne was fixed upon to be the theatre of this scene. They began by spreading reports for three years together of the mother of God having appeared several times to different persons, reproaching the Franciscans with their doctrine of immaculate conception, which she said was horrible blasphemy, and tended to rob her son of the glory of having cleansed her from original sin and the power of hell. The Franciscans, on their part, were not behind hand in opposing other apparitions. But at length, in the year 1507, the Dominicans having brought over a young lay brother, called Jetzer, made him their instrument to work upon the minds of the people. It was an established opinion in the convents of all orders, that if a novice quitted the habit, and did not make his profession, his soul remained in purgatory till the last judgment, unless

it was released by prayers, or alms given to the convent.

The prior of the convent, who was a Dominican, entered Jetzer's cell in the night, in a habit painted with devils, a great chain about his middle, leading four dogs, and casting flames out of his mouth by means of a little round box filled with the pickings of flax, and set on fire. This horrible figure told the half-scared Jetzer that he was a monk who in former times had quitted his habit, for which his soul was thrown into purgatory, but that it might be delivered thence if Jetzer would consent to suffer himself to be flogged by the monks before the great altar. Jetzer complied without hesitating, and delivered the monk's soul from purgatory, who appeared to him a second time, clad in a white robe, and surrounded with glory, to show him that he was in heaven, and to recommend to him the cause of the blessed Virgin, whom the Franciscans reviled.

Some few nights after, St. Barbe, for whom brother Jetzer had a great veneration — that is, another monk dressed expressly for the purpose — told him that he was a saint, and that the holy Virgin had chosen him to avenge her cause against the damnable doctrine of the Cordeliers.

At length the Virgin herself descended into his cell through the ceiling, attended by two angels, and commanded him to declare to the world that she was born in original sin, and that the Cordeliers were the greatest enemies of her son; and

then she concluded by telling him that she would honor him with the five wounds with which St. Lucia and St. Catherine had been honored.

The next night, the monk having made the lay-brother drink heartily of wine, in which they had infused a quantity of opium, they pierced his hands, his feet, and his side, while he was asleep. When he awoke he found himself all over blood. The monks cried aloud that the holy Virgin had imprinted the stigma on him, and in this condition they exposed him at the altar to the view of the people.

However, weak as brother Jetzer was, he imagined he had distinguished the voice of the sub-prior in that of the blessed Virgin, and began to think the whole an imposture; upon which the monks, without further ceremony, resolved to poison him; and accordingly, when he came next to take the sacrament, they gave him a consecrated wafer which they had previously sprinkled thick with the powder of corrosive sublimate; the sharpness of which upon his tongue obliged him to spit out the wafer, and thereupon the monks instantly cried out, "Sacrilege," and loaded him with chains. To save his life, he promised upon another host that he would never reveal the secret: however, having found means some time afterward to make his escape out of the convent, he went and made a disclosure of the whole affair to a magistrate. The cause was two years pending; at the end of which time four Dominicans

were burned before the gate of Rome, May 31, 1509, in consequence of the sentence pronounced by a bishop sent from Rome for that purpose.

This adventure brought the monks into that abhorrence which they justly deserved; and those who began the reformation did not fail to revive the story with all the aggravations they could devise, never once reflecting that the author of this sacrilegious act had been punished by the see of Rome itself, in the most exemplary manner. In short, everything was forgotten but the action: the people who had been witnesses of this shocking affair were ready to believe every charge of profanation and sacrilege brought against the monks, especially those of the mendicant order, and in which the whole Church was included. If those who still adhered to the worship of the Church of Rome objected that the holy see was not answerable for the crimes of the monks, they were told of the vile actions of several popes, who had been a disgrace to their sacred character and function. Nothing is more easy than to render a whole body odious by a detail of the crimes of some of its members.

The opinion that it is sufficient to be virtuous to merit eternal happiness has been adopted by a great number of the learned men of our modern times; they have thought it abominable to look upon the father of all nature as a merciless tyrant to the greater part of humankind, and a loving father only

to a particular set of men in a few small countries. These learned men have doubtless been mistaken; but how humane is their error!

LUTHERANISM.

A power that had the right of always governing men in the name of God would soon make an ill use of that power. Mankind have often found themselves in religion as well as in government between a state of anarchy and tyranny, ready to fall into one or other of the gulfs.

The law by which a man is allowed only one wife is sometimes attended with fatal consequences, and may require certain exceptions, as well as many other laws. There are some cases in which the interest of families and even of the state seems to require a person to take a second wife during the lifetime of the first, where an heir is absolutely necessary and cannot be had by the first. The law of nature then acts in concert with the public good; and as the end of marriage is to have children, it seems a contradiction to prohibit the only means for attaining that end.

There was but one of all the popes who properly attended to this law of nature, namely, Gregory II., who in his famous "Decretal," published in 726, declared that "when a man had an infirm wife, who was incapable of performing the conjugal func-

tions, he might marry a second, provided he took proper care of the first." Luther went many steps beyond Pope Gregory II.

Trevor, lord-chancellor of England in the reign of Charles II., was privately married to a second wife, with the consent of the first. He wrote a small treatise in favor of polygamy, and lived perfectly happy with his two wives. But cases of this kind are extremely rare.

THE ANABAPTISTS.

Luther had been successful in stirring up the princes, nobles, and magistrates of Germany against the pope and the bishops. Münzer stirred up the peasants against them. He and his companions went about addressing themselves to the inhabitants of the country villages in Suabia, Meissen, Thuringia, and Franconia. They laid open that dangerous truth which is implanted in every breast, that all men are born equal; saying, that if the popes had treated the princes like their subjects, the princes had treated the common people like beasts.

It must be acknowledged that the manifesto published by these savages in the name of "the men who till the earth," might have been signed by Lycurgus. They demanded to be exempted from the payment of all tithes but that of corn; and that a part thereof might be applied to the support

of the poor; that they might be permitted to hunt and fish for their necessary subsistence; that air and water might be free; that their day-labor might be moderated; and that they might be allowed a little wood to warm themselves. They only claimed the rights common to mankind; but they supported their claim like savage beasts.

The cruelties which had been exercised by the common people in France and England in the reigns of Charles VI. and Henry V., were renewed in Germany, and blown into a fiercer flame by the breath of fanaticism. Münzer made himself master of the town of Mülhausen in Thuringia, and while he everywhere preached a general equality of rank and possessions, obliged the inhabitants to bring all their money and effects, and lay them at his feet. The peasants all took up arms from Saxony to Alsace. They murdered all the gentlemen that came in their way, and put to death a daughter of the emperor Maximilian I. One remarkable circumstance is that, like the slaves of old, who revolted from the Romans, and who, when they found themselves incapable of governing, chose for their king one of their masters, who had escaped the general slaughter, so these peasants put a gentleman at their head.

Such of the conspirators as could be found were put to death without mercy; and at that time all the Anabaptists throughout the United Provinces were treated as the Dutch had been by the Span-

iards; they were drowned, strangled, or burned; and, whether concerned in the conspiracy or not, whether factious or peaceable, they were fallen upon by the people of the Low Countries as monsters, of whom it was necessary to rid the earth.

The change in the manners of the Anabaptists is owing to their having joined the Unitarians, a sect that holds only one God but professes great reverence for Jesus Christ. They have neither dogmas nor controversies, and though held as reprobates by other communions, live in peace with them all.

RELIGION UNDER FRANCIS I.

Their chief object was that of a concordat like the Germanic concordat. The Germans, ever jealous of their privileges, had stipulated with Pope Nicholas V. that the election among the clergy should remain in full force through the whole German Empire; that they should pay no annats to Rome; that the pope should have only the right of nominating to certain canonships during six months in the year; and that those who were in possession should pay to the pope a certain sum then agreed upon. The rich German canonships were still looked upon as a great abuse by the civilians, and this fee paid to the see of Rome as no better than simony. It was according to them a burdensome and scandalous bargain to pay a sum to an Italian

prince for the privilege of enjoying a benefice in Germany or France. This kind of traffic seemed to stamp an infamy upon religion; and the political calculators proved it to be an error of the most capital kind for the subjects of France to send to Rome a yearly sum of four hundred thousand livres, at a time when their own trade did not bring them in so much as they lost by this pernicious contract. If the pope exacted this money in the light of a tribute it was not to be suffered; if only as a charitable donation, it was too much: but, in short, everything was done for money. Relics, indulgences, dispensations, benefices, all were sold to the highest bidder.

If religion was to be thus put up at auction it was better, no doubt, to turn this simony to the benefit of the state than to the profit of a bishop who was a stranger, and who, by the law of nature and nations, had no more right to receive the first year's profit of a benefice in France than of the revenue of China or the Indies.

This agreement, which at that time occasioned so many heart-burnings, was made just before the great rupture which happened between the whole North, all England, and part of Germany, and the see of Rome, which latter, in a short time, became more and more hated in France; and religion itself was in danger of suffering from the dislike which the Church of Rome had brought upon herself.

This was for a long time the cry of all the magistrates, colleges, and universities; and these complaints were still further aggravated by the appearance of a bull issued by the voluptuous Leo X., in which the Pragmatic Sanction is called "the depravity of the kingdom of France."

An insult of this kind offered to a whole nation by a bull, in which St. Paul is quoted at the same time that money is demanded, still excites the indignation of the public.

RELIGIOUS ORDERS.

There reigned a most scandalous enmity between the old order of the Black Friars and the new one of the White. This jealousy resembled that between the green and blue factions in the Roman Empire; but it did not cause the same seditions.

The Franciscans, or Cordeliers, were the most numerous and busiest of any of the orders. Francis d'Assisi, who first founded this order in 1210, was at the same time the most simple and the most enthusiastic man in the world; fanaticism was the spirit of the times, and in some measure that of the lower class of the crusaders of the Vaudois and of the Albigenses. Francis therefore found a number of people of the same disposition as himself, and of these he formed a sect. We have already seen examples of his great zeal, and

that of his companions in the holy wars, where he proposed to the sultan of Egypt to turn Christian, and Friar Giles persisted so obstinately in preaching his faith to the people of Morocco.

Never were the extravagances of the human mind carried to so great a length as in the book of "The Conformity of St. Francis with Christ," which was written during his lifetime, and which was afterward reprinted with considerable additions by a Franciscan friar called Bartholomew Albici; in which book Christ is made to have been only the forerunner of Francis. In this book we find the story of the woman of snow, that St. Francis formed with his own hands; of his miraculous cure of the mad wolf, whom he made promise that he would never devour any more sheep; and that of a friar of their order, who, being made a bishop, was afterward deposed by the pope, and who, having died during his deposition, returned again to life, and carried a letter of rebuke to the same pope.

The Minims did neither hurt nor good. This order was founded by a man of weak judgment; one Francisco Martorillo, whom Louis XI. desired to prolong his life. This Martorillo, having made a rule in Calabria that his monks should eat everything with oil, because oil is to be had in that country for little or nothing, made the same rule for the monks whom he established in the northern

countries of France, where no olives grow, and where of consequence oil is sometimes so dear that eating it is a luxury rather than a mortification or economy.

THE JESUITS.

Pope Paul III., in the year 1540, published the bull of institution of the Jesuits, with an express clause that their number should never exceed sixty, notwithstanding which Ignatius before his death saw above a thousand in his order. At length he suffered his enthusiastic zeal to be a little governed by discretion. His book of spiritual exercises, which was to serve as a directory to his disciples, was indeed altogether romantic. He there represents God as the general of an army, and the Jesuits as his captains. But a person may write very badly and yet govern well. He was assisted by Lainez and Salmeron, who, having acquired some skill in these matters, assisted him in composing the rules of his order. Francis de Borgia, grandson of Pope Alexander VI., and nephew of Cæsar Borgia, one as weak and fanatic as his grandfather and uncle were wicked and deceitful, entered into the order of the Jesuits, and was the first who procured it its riches and credit. Francis Xavier, by his mission to the Indies and Japan, rendered it famous. The ardor, obstinacy, and mixture of enthusiasm and insinuation, which is the character of every new institution, gained the Jesuits a recep-

tion in almost all states, notwithstanding the vehement oppositions they had to encounter. They could not, however, establish themselves in France till 1561, and then only on condition that they should never take the name of Jesuits, and should be subject to the authority of the bishops. The name of Jesuit was thought too pompous. They were reproached with endeavoring to arrogate to themselves alone a title common to all Christians, and the vows they took to the pope gave cause of jealousy.

We should not certainly attribute to their institution, or to the effect of a determined and general plan, always kept in view, the crimes which, through the fatality of the times, some of this order have been led to commit. It certainly was not the fault of Ignatius that Matthew Guignard, Gueret, and several other of the Jesuits, both wrote and caballed against Henry IV. with so much fury, or that those of their order have since been driven out of Portugal for rebellion and regicide, any more than it was the fault of the founder of the Dominican order that one of that body poisoned Henry VII., in giving him the sacrament, and that another assassinated Henry III. of France. Nor is St. Benedict to be charged with the death of the duke of Guienne, brother of Louis XI., who was poisoned by a Benedictine monk. No religious

order whatever was originally founded with criminal, or even political views.

NUNS.

In 458, Pope St. Leo, whose memory is still held in the greatest esteem, ordered, conjointly with other bishops, that no single woman should be permitted to take the veil before she was forty years of age, and the emperor Majorianus made this wise law of the Church a law of State. An imprudent zeal, however, destroyed in time what wisdom and prudence had established.

THE POLITE ARTS.

True philosophy did not make so great a progress in France as it did in England and Florence; and though the Academy of Sciences was particularly serviceable to human nature, it did not set the character of France above that of other nations; all the noblest inventions and great truths had their rise elsewhere.

But in eloquence, poetry, and polite learning, in books of morality and entertainment, the French must be considered as the legislators of Europe. There was no longer any taste in Italy. True eloquence was everywhere unknown; religion was ridiculously delivered from the pulpit; and the pleadings at the bar were as bad. Virgil and Ovid

were quoted by the preachers; St. Jerome and St. Augustine by the lawyers. No man had yet appeared, of genius sufficient to polish the French tongue, to enrich it with harmony, propriety of expression and dignity. That it was capable of grandeur and force was indeed evident from some verses of Malherbe; but this was all. President de Thou, Chancellor de L'Hôpital, and other celebrated writers, who had expressed themselves to such advantage in the Latin language, made but a poor figure in their native tongue; it was too much for them to manage. The French was as yet only valuable for a certain air of simplicity, in which solely consisted the merits of Joinville, Amiot, Marot, Montaigne, Regnier, and the satire *"Ménippée"*; nor was this simplicity unincumbered by irregularity and rusticity. John de Lingendes, bishop of Mâcon, at present unknown, because his works were never printed, was the first orator who declaimed with sublimity. His sermons and funeral orations, though somewhat obscured by the rust of the time in which he lived, were models for those by whom he was imitated and surpassed. In 1630, he pronounced the funeral oration of Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy, surnamed, in his own country, the Great. It abounded with such fine strokes of eloquence, that Fléchier long after took from it the exordium, text, and many passages, to adorn his famous funeral oration on the viscount de Turenne.

It was about this time that Balzac gave measure and harmony to prose. His letters are, it is true, often bombastic. He writes to the first Cardinal de Retz: "You are come from taking the sceptre of kings and the livery of roses." Speaking of perfumed waters, in a letter from Rome to Boisrobert, "I have escaped by swimming in my chamber through the midst of perfumes." With all these faults he charms the ear; such power has eloquence over the mind of man that Balzac was now admired for having found out that small portion of this art, so necessary, yet so little known, which directs a harmonious choice of words; and he was even praised for having often misplaced them.

Voiture gave some idea of the light graces of that epistolary style, which is by no means the best, because it consists only of pleasantry. It is owing to a trifling imagination, that in his two volumes of letters not one of them is instructive, or seems to come from the heart. None of them depict the manners of the times, the characters of men. They are rather an abuse than exercise of genius.

The language was refined by degrees, and obtained something of a fixed form. We are for this obliged to the academy of sciences, and particularly to Vaugelas. The first well-written book was his translation of "Quintus Curtius," which was published in 1646; and wherein, even now, there are but few obsolete phrases and expressions. Oliver Patru, who follows next, contributed much

to regulate and refine the language; and though he was not deemed a profound lawyer, we owe to him order, perspicuity, and elegance of harangue, merits absolutely unknown at the bar. The little collection of maxims written by Francis, duke of Rochefoucauld, was one of the works that contributed to form the taste of the nation, to communicate a spirit of precision and propriety; though in this book there is scarcely more than this one truth: "Self-love is the *primum mobile* of all our actions." Yet this one thought appears in such various lights that it is always striking. It is rather a collection of materials to adorn a book than a book itself. It was read with eagerness; it accustomed us to think, and to comprise our thoughts in a spirited, determinate, delicate turn of phrase. No other writer in Europe could boast this merit since the revival of letters. But the first book of genius that appeared in prose was the collection of "Provincial Letters," in 1654. Herein may be found every species of eloquence; though a hundred years have passed since that publication, not a single word occurs in it savoring of that change and alteration to which living languages are so very liable. With this work then we may fix the epoch when our language obtained a settled form. The bishop of Luçon, son of the celebrated Bussi, told me, that having asked Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, of what work he would have chosen to be the author, setting his own

performances out of the question, he answered, the "Provincial Letters."

The fine taste which runs through the whole of this book, and the strength of the last letters, were not yet of force sufficient to correct that dispirited, diffuse, incorrect, harsh style, which had been so long in use with our writers, preachers, and lawyers.

A new light arose in 1668. This was Father Bourdaloue; he was the first who maintained in the pulpit a noble uniformity of eloquence. Other orators have since appeared in the pulpit, as Massillon, bishop of Clermont, in whose sermons are found more graces, more delicate and masterly pictures of the manners of the age; but none of them can eclipse Bourdaloue. In his style, more nervous than florid, without appealing to fancy for expression, he seems rather to aim at convincing than inflaming; and he never labors to please. Perhaps it were to be wished, that in banishing from the pulpit that false taste whereby it had been so long debased, he had also suppressed the custom of preaching upon one text. In reality, to speak for a good while upon a quotation of one or two lines, to weary oneself in accommodating the whole discourse to that single line, seems to be a play on words little suiting the gravity of a divine. The text is a kind of device or enigma, to be explained by the sermon. This custom was unknown to the Greeks and Romans; it arose upon the decline of letters, and has been made sacred by time.

The method of always dividing into two or three points things that in themselves require no division, as morality; or that require to be more minutely divided, as controversy, is an arbitrary custom which this great preacher found established, and with which he chose to conform.

Bossuet, afterward bishop of Meaux, had preceded him. He, who proved afterward so great a man, was at first intended for the bar, and was betrothed when very young to Mademoiselle Desvieux, a lady of extraordinary merit. But his talents for divinity, and for that kind of eloquence whereby he is particularly distinguished, appeared so very early, that his relatives and friends resolved to bequeath him rather to the Church. Mademoiselle Desvieux interested herself in determining him in this point, preferring his glory to the happiness of spending her life with him. In 1662, being yet very young, he preached before the king and the queen-mother; this was long before Father Bourdaloue was known. His discourses, animated by a noble and affecting manner, were the first which had been delivered at court with any marks of sublimity; and they were so well received that the king caused a letter to be written in his own name to Bossuet's father, the intendant of Soissons, congratulating him on the merit of his son.

Nevertheless, Monsieur Bossuet was no longer esteemed the first preacher when Father Bourdaloue appeared. The former had applied himself to

the composition of funeral orations; a species of eloquence which admits of being adorned by imagination, and which requires a majestic grandeur bordering upon poetry, from which it must borrow somewhat, though restricted when it aims at the sublime. In 1667, he pronounced the funeral oration of the queen-mother, and it procured him the bishopric of Condom: it was a performance unworthy of him, and was never printed; nor were his sermons. The funeral eulogium upon the queen of England, widow of Charles I., which he delivered in 1669, is allowed to be a masterpiece. The subjects in these pieces of eloquence are happy in proportion to the misfortunes sustained by the personages whom they celebrate. It is in these pieces of writing as in tragedy, where we are interested in the principal characters, in proportion as their misfortunes increase. His funeral oration upon the duchess of Orleans, who was snatched away in the flower of her youth, and may be said to have expired in his arms, had the great and uncommon effect of melting the whole court into tears: he was obliged to stop at these words: O disastrous night! night teeming with horror and confusion, in which the astonishing news of madame's death burst upon us like a clap of thunder." His auditors were filled with grief, and the voice of the orator was for some time lost in their tears and their sighs.

The French succeeded in this kind of eloquence only. A new one was soon after invented by the

same man, which in any other hand could scarcely have succeeded. He applied the charms of oratory to history itself, the simplicity of which seems to exclude such assistance. His discourse on universal history, written for the use of the dauphin, is without model or imitation. If he has been opposed by the learned in the system which he adopts for reconciling the Jewish chronology to that of other nations, nevertheless his style has been universally admired. The world was astonished by that majestic force with which he describes manners and government, the rise and fall of vast empires, and those rapid strokes of energetic truth with which he paints the manners, and judges the nations.

Almost all the works which reflect so much honor on this age were of a species unknown to antiquity. Among them is "Telemachus." This extraordinary book, in which the powers of romance and poetry unite, the style of which is a measured prose bordering upon versification, was composed by Fénelon, the disciple and friend of Bossuet; though afterward, much against his will, he became his rival and his enemy. One would think Fénelon had a mind to treat romance as the bishop of Meaux had done history, by enduing it with dignity and charms before unknown; but more especially by drawing from these fictions a moral that might be useful to mankind; a moral till then entirely neglected in every fabulous invention. It has been generally believed he composed this work to serve as themes

of instruction to the duke of Burgundy and the two other children of France, he being their preceptor, as Bossuet had formed his universal history to help the education of the dauphin; but I was assured of the contrary by the marquis de Fénelon, the nephew of this great man, who inherited all his virtues, and was killed at the battle of Rocoux. Nor does it indeed seem probable that the first lessons furnished by a priest to the children of France should be the loves of Calypso and Eucharis.

It was after he received orders to retire to his diocese of Cambray that he composed this performance. Well-read in the ancients, and blessed with a strong and glowing imagination, he formed a style peculiar to himself, and he wrote it with infinite ease. I have seen the original manuscript; there are not ten blots in the whole. It is pretended that the first impression was from a copy stolen by one of his domestics. If this be the case, the archbishop owes all the reputation which he has acquired to this breach of trust; but to the same cause he is indebted for being ever after out of favor at court. Some people have imagined they could trace in "Telemachus" an indirect critique against the government of Louis XIV. Sesostris, too haughty in his triumphs; Idomeneus, who confirmed the reign of luxury in Salentum, and neglected economy, were thought striking portraits of that monarch; yet, after all, it was impossible for him to have had a superfluity without an extraordinary cultivation of

the most essential and necessary arts. His minister, Louvois, was found by the malcontents in the character of Protesilaus, who is represented as vain, intractable, haughty, and an enemy to those great generals who chose to serve the state and not the minister.

The allies, who, in the war of 1688, united against Louis XIV., and who in 1701 shook his throne, traced his character with infinite pleasure in that Idomeneus, whose haughtiness had rendered him odious to all his neighbors. These allusions made a deeper impression, because of the harmony of the style, which so gently insinuates moderation and concord. Even the French themselves, as well as strangers, tired out with so many wars, found a malicious consolation in tracing a satire of this kind through a book meant to inculcate the principles of virtue. The editions of it were innumerable; I have seen fourteen in English. It is true, that after the death of this monarch, so feared, so envied, so respected by all, so hated by some, the malignity of mankind ceased to point out those pretended allusions which censured his conduct; and judges of the correctest taste have treated "Telemachus" with severity. They blamed it as tedious and circumstantial; they alleged that there was too little connection in the adventures; that his descriptions of a country life occur too often, and are too much of a piece; yet the book has always been esteemed as a fine monument of a flourishing age.

Among these may be always counted the "Characters" of La Bruyère. We have no copies of such a work among the ancients, any more than we have of "Telemachus." A style rapid, concise, and nervous; expressions animated and picturesque; an entirely new use of language, without infringing any established rules, now first struck the eye of the public, and the allusions, which everywhere occur in the course of the work, confirmed its success. When La Bruyère showed his work in manuscript to Malezieux: "It will procure you," said he, "many readers and many enemies." The reputation of this book was lowered in the public opinion, when the whole generation against which it was levelled was no more; yet, as there are in it many passages applicable to all times and all places, there is room to believe it will never be entirely forgotten. "Telemachus" has had some imitators; La Bruyère's "Characters" many more. It is much easier to sketch short pictures of striking things, than to produce a long work of imagination, which will at once both please and instruct.

The happy art of associating the graces with philosophy was a new thing, of which the "Plurality of Worlds" was the first specimen; it was indeed a dangerous one, because the native dress of philosophy should be composed of order, perspicuity, and truth above all. There is nothing to hinder this ingenious work from being ranked among our classics by posterity, but that it was

partly founded upon Descartes' chimerical doctrine of the vortices. To these literary novelties may be added Bayle's new kind of reasoning dictionary. It is the first work of this sort whereby a man may be taught to think. We must indeed abandon to the fate of indifferent books such articles as contain only trifling facts, unworthy of the character of Bayle, beneath the attention of a grave reader, or the regard of posterity. It is necessary to observe, that in ranking Bayle among the authors who reflect honor upon the age of Louis XIV., though he was banished into Holland, I only conform to the decree of the Parliament of Toulouse, which in declaring his will valid in France, notwithstanding the rigor of the laws, expressly says, "Such a man cannot be looked upon as a foreigner."

We shall not descant here upon the multitude of good books produced in this age; we shall only dwell upon such new and singular productions of genius as characterize and distinguish it from all others. The eloquence, for example, of Bossuet and Bourdaloue are not, nay cannot, be deemed similar to that of Cicero. The merit, as well as the species, was entirely new. If any production of this era comes near the Roman orator, the three pleadings of Pellisson composed for Fouquet, must take the place. They, like many of Tully's orations, are a mixture of judicial and state matters, solidly handled with the finest, yet with a scarcely discernible art and the most affecting charms of oratory.

We have had historians, but none equal to Livy. The Conspiracy of Venice may rank with Sallust: that he was Abbé de St. Réal's model is evident, perhaps he has surpassed him. All the other writings of which we have been speaking seem to have been of a new creation. And it is this that so peculiarly distinguishes and characterizes the age of Louis XIV., for the sixteenth and seventeenth ages have both produced learned men and commentators, but true genius had not yet unfolded itself.

Who would believe that these excellent prose works of which we have taken notice had probably never existed, had they not been preceded by poetry! Yet such has been the fate of human nature in all nations, that verse has everywhere appeared as the first offspring of genius, and the parent of eloquence.

It is the same with men in general as in particular. Plato and Cicero began with versifying. When everybody had by heart some of Malherbe's stanzas, we had not one sublime or noble passage in prose to quote; and it is very likely the genius of prose writers had never been known, without the aid of Peter Corneille.

This great man is the more to be admired, because when he began to write tragedies, he had none but the very worst models before him, and inasmuch as these bad models were highly esteemed, he may be said to have been shut out from the road to success; and, to add to his discouragement, they had a fast friend in Cardinal Richelieu, the protector of men

of letters, but not of taste. He rewarded well the most miserable scribblers, who are commonly sycophants; and his natural haughtiness of soul, which on other occasions might have been nobly exerted, induced him to endeavor to humble men of real genius, whom he never viewed favorably, as they seldom can stoop to dependence. It seldom happens that a man of power is a sincere patron of the arts, when he himself is an artist.

Corneille had to struggle with the times, his rivals, and the cardinal. I shall not rehearse here all that has been said about "The Cid"; let it suffice that the academy, in their judicious decisions between Corneille and Scudéry, had too much complaisance for his eminence, and therefore condemned the love of Chimene. To love the murderer of her father, and yet persist in avenging, was admirably fine. To have conquered her passion had been a capital defect in tragedy, the principal business of which is to portray the struggles of the human heart. But, except to Corneille, the dramatic art was now entirely unknown. Nor was "The Cid" the only one of his works which the cardinal strove to injure; the abbé Polignac tells us that "*Polyeucte*" also incurred his displeasure. "The Cid," after all, was a noble imitation, and in many places a translation, of "Guillen de Castro." I knew an old domestic of the Condé family, who said, that at the first exhibition of "Cinna," the

great Condé, then only twenty years of age, shed tears at these lines pronounced by Augustus:

Je suis maître de moi, comme de l'univers;
Je le suis, je veux l'être. Ô siècles! Ô mémoire!
Conservez à jamais ma nouvelle victoire.
Je triomphe aujourd'hui du plus juste courroux,
De qui le souvenir puisse aller jusqu' à vous.
Soyons amis, Cinna; c'est moi qui t'en convie.

I'm now the world's great master and my own —
I am — I will be — memory and time
Shall this last, greatest victory record.
I triumph over wrath too justly roused,
And latest age the conquest shall applaud —
Cinna, let us be friends —'tis I who ask it.

These were the tears of a hero. The great Corneille forcing tears of admiration from the eyes of the great Condé is a most celebrated moment in the history of the human mind. The many pieces unworthy of himself which he afterward published will never hinder the nation from regarding him as a great man, any more than the blemishes of Homer have prevented his being thought the sublimest of poets. It is the privilege of true genius, more especially when it strikes out into a new path, to launch with impunity into error.

Corneille formed himself; but Louis XIV., Colbert, Sophocles, and Euripides, all contributed to form Racine. An ode which he composed at the age of eighteen on the king's marriage, and for which he obtained an unexpected present, determined him in pursuit of poetry. His reputation

increased every day, that of Corneille diminished, but not much. The reason is plain; Racine in all his performances subsequent to "Alexander," is always correct, elegant, and natural, he speaks to the heart. The other too often infringes upon these duties. Racine understood the passions much better than either the Greeks or Corneille; and he carried the smooth flow of versification, as well as the graces of expression, to the highest pitch possible. By these great men the nation was taught to think, feel, and express; and their auditors, by them only instructed, became at length severe judges of what their first masters produced. In the time of Cardinal Richelieu there were but few people in France capable of understanding the faults of "The Cid"; and in 1702, when *"Athalie,"* that masterpiece of dramatic writing, was performed before the duchess of Burgundy, the courtiers thought themselves sufficient critics to condemn it. Time has avenged this insult for the author; but that great man died without sharing in any part of the success of this admirable composition.

There was ever a numerous party, which made a point of doing injustice to Racine. Madame de Sévigné, the first epistolary writer of her time, and who had particularly the art of expressing the merest trifles with grace, always said that Racine's fame would never be great. She judged of him as she did of coffee, with regard to the virtues of which

she said the public would soon be undeceived. Time is requisite to ripen reputations.

It was the particular fate of these days, that Molière should be contemporary with Corneille and Racine. It is false that Molière at his first appearance found the stage utterly void of good comedies. Corneille had produced his "Liar," a piece taken from the Spanish, and fraught with spirit, character, and intrigue, and Quinault's *"La Mère Coquette,"* a piece not only abounding with character and intrigue, but even the very model of intrigue had been exhibited, when only two of Molière's most capital pieces were presented. It made its appearance in 1664; and is the first comedy in which appears the character of a species of men called marquises. Most of Louis XIV.'s highest courtiers endeavored to imitate the grandeur, splendor and dignity of their sovereign. Those of an inferior class copied the exalted air of the nobility; and there were not wanting many who carried to the most ridiculous height of affectation their conceit and predominant desire of being held in a much higher light than their merits justified.

This humor prevailed long. It was often attacked by Molière, and it was to him principally the public owed their being freed from these consequential men of no consequence; as well as from the affectation of prudes, the pedantry of female learning, and the jargon of lawyers and physicians. Molière was, if one may be permitted to use the expression,

the lawgiver of politeness to the world. I speak here only of the services he did the age; everybody knows sufficiently his other merits. This was an era worthy the attention of futurity, when the heroes of Corneille and Racine, the characters of Molière, the musical compositions of Lulli, so very new to the nation — for we only speak here of the arts — and the eloquence of Bossuet and Bourdaloue, were exhibited before a Louis XIV.; a duchess of Orleans, remarkable for the most finished taste; a Condé, a Turenne, a Colbert, and that crowd of illustrious men, of every sort, that now appeared. Those times will never return, wherein a duke de la Rochefoucauld, author of "Maxims," shall quit the conversation of a Pascal and an Arnauld, to discourse at the theatre with Corneille. It was by his fine epistles, so instructive to posterity, and above all by his "Art of Poetry," whence even Corneille might have derived improvement, and not by his "Satires," that Boileau raised himself to a rank with so many great men; for what have future generations to do with the "Confusion of Paris," or the names of Cossaignes, and Cotin?

La Fontaine, less chaste in his style, less correct in his language, was inimitable in that sprightliness, and those graces peculiar to himself, which raised him by the simplest narrations nearly to an equality with those sublime geniuses.

Quinault, who excelled in a new mode of writing, the more difficult for its being apparently the more

easy, richly deserves a place among these his illustrious contemporaries. The injustice wherewith Boileau decried him is well known. Boileau had never learned to sacrifice to the graces; and it was in vain that all his life he sought to humble a man who was their most intimate acquaintance. The greatest praise that can be given to a poet is to remember and repeat his verses. Whole scenes of Quinault are in everybody's mouth, an advantage at which the Italian opera could never arrive. French music has remained in a state of simplicity, which is no longer the taste of any nation; but those simple and refined strokes of nature which so frequently charm in Quinault, still please, in every part of Europe, those who are masters of the French tongue and a polished taste. Had we found such poems as an "Armida," or an "Atys," among the remains of antiquity, with what idolatry had they been read! but Quinault was a modern.

All these great men were known and protected by Louis XIV. La Fontaine was not of the number. His extreme simplicity, which amounted even to forgetfulness, kept him at a distance from court, where he never, indeed, once thought of appearing. The duke of Burgundy found him out; and, in his old age, he received many favors from that prince. He was, notwithstanding his genius, as simple in his manners as the heroes of his fables. Puget, one of the fathers of the Oratory, thinks he has great merit in treating this innocent, this artless man,

as if he spoke of a Brinvilliers or a Voisin. His tales are only from Poggius, Ariosto, and the queen of Navarre. If loose ideas are dangerous, be it remembered that they are not inspired barely by pleasant sallies of wit, or a lively imagination. One may reply to La Fontaine his admirable fable of the beasts sick of the plague, where the lions, the wolves, and the bears, are pardoned for everything, and an innocent animal is devoured for having eaten a little grass.

In the school of these geniuses, destined to be the delight and instruction of posterity, were formed many men of wit, who have produced a multitude of elegant little pieces, which serve to amuse people of taste, just as we have several good painters who are yet unequal to Poussin, Lesueur, Lebrun, Lemoine, and Vanloo.

But toward the end of Louis XIV.'s reign, two men rose superior to the run of indifferent geniuses, and acquired great reputations; the one was La Motte-Houdart, rather of a more solid and extensive than a sublime capacity. In prose he was delicate and methodical; but in his poetry he often wanted that fire and elegance, even that correctness, the neglect of which is only to be dispensed with in favor of the sublime. He has, however, given us some beautiful stanzas, for they cannot be properly called odes. His talents were not long-lived, yet the many beautiful pieces he has left us of more than one kind are sufficient to set him above authors

of the lowest class. In him is proved the fact that in the art of writing some may rank as seconds. The other was Rousseau, who, with less genius, less art, and less facility than La Motte, had yet greater talents for versification. His odes were subsequent to La Motte; but they are more beautiful, diversified, and fuller of imagery. In his psalms, he comes up to that rapture and harmony so remarkable in the canticles of Racine. His epigrams are better finished than those of Marot. He had less success in opera, which requires sensibility; nor did he succeed in comedy, in which a spirit of gayety is necessary. In these two characters he failed; therefore in these kinds of writing he did not succeed, because they were foreign to his genius.

Had the antiquated style of Marot, which he used in his serious works, been imitated, he would have corrupted the French tongue; but happily that mixture of the purity of our language, with the obsolete dialect spoken some two hundred years before, did not long keep its footing. Some of his epistles are imitations of Boileau; but neither so easy in the expression, nor so clear in the conception; nor are his truths obvious; truth only is amiable.

He lost himself in foreign countries; whether his genius was impaired by his misfortunes, or whether his principal merit consisted in a choice of words and happy turns of expression, perfections more necessary and uncommon than is generally imagined, he had not abroad the same advantages he

might have found at home. Exiled from his native land, he might rank it among his misfortunes that he was no longer under the eye of severe criticism.

His long misfortunes had their foundation in an ungovernable self-love, too much intermixed with jealousy and animosity. His example should be a striking lesson to all men of talents; but we consider him here only as a writer who has done no small honor to letters.

We have had few great geniuses since the flourishing days of these illustrious artists; and nature seemed, as it were, to repose some time before the death of Louis the Great.

The road was difficult at the beginning of this age because untrodden; it is now open to every one, and has become a common highway. The great men of the preceding century have taught us to think and speak; they have informed us of things which were before unknown. But little is left to be said by their successors. In fine, the multitude of finished pieces have given us a kind of satiety for literary productions.

The age of Louis XIV. had in everything therefore the fate of Leo X., of Augustus, and of Alexander. The soils which produced in these illustrious times so many fruits of genius, had been long before preparing to rear them. In vain have we searched out in causes moral and physical, the reason of this slow progressive fruitfulness, and of the long sterility that ensued. The true reason is,

that among the nations which cultivate the polite arts, it requires many years to purify their language and refine their taste. When these preliminaries are adjusted, then genius begins to bloom. Emulation and public favor lavished upon these new efforts excite every talent. Each artist in his particular sphere seizes upon those natural beauties which correspond with his art. Whoever fathoms the theory of such arts as depend purely upon genius must, if he has any genius himself, know that the primary beauties, the grand natural outlines peculiar to those arts and agreeable to the nation for which their talents are employed, are in number very confined. The subjects and their suitable embellishments have boundaries still more contracted than is generally imagined.

Abbé Dubos, a man of great sense, who, in 1714, composed a treatise upon poetry and painting, found not in the whole history of France one real subject for an epic poem, but the destruction of the League, by Henry the Great. He should have added, that the ornaments of the epopée adopted by the Greeks and Romans, and by Italians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, being proscribed by the French writers; the fabulous deities, oracles, invulnerable heroes, monsters, sorceries, metamorphoses, romantic adventures, now all generally exploded, the beauties proper to epic poetry are confined within a very narrow circle. If therefore at any time a genius springs up who possesses him-

self of all the embellishments suitable to the times, subject, and nation, and carries into execution what has been attempted, those who follow him will find the task performed.

It is the same in tragic compositions. It is not to be supposed that sublime passages and elevated sentiments can be susceptible of such infinite variety as to be always new and affecting: everything has its boundaries.

Nor is the case different with regard to true comedy; there are not in human nature above a dozen characters truly comic and highly marked. Abbé Dubos, not having genius in himself, thinks that men of wit may strike out a variety of characters that are all new; but he is mistaken, they must arise from nature. He imagines that those trifling peculiarities which constitute the different characters of men may be as happily handled as the most sublime subjects. Innumerable are the clouds that overshadow truth; her strongest and most glaring colors are not many; but of such of these as are of a primitive, a superior nature, an able artist never fails to make a proper use. [1]

Pulpit oratory, particularly that which relates to funeral eulogium, is exactly in the same state.

[1] Without entering into a discussion of this point, whether nature has not produced more than a dozen original comic characters, we shall beg leave to observe that it is the business of comedy to paint the follies of the age; and everybody knows that the follies of life are infinitely varied, according to fashion, time and circumstance.

Moral truths being once delivered with eloquence, the images of wretchedness and human weakness, the vanity of grandeur, and the devastations of death, being once drawn by masterly hands, in time become commonplace. We are reduced to the necessity of imitating or erring from the point. A sufficient number of fables being composed by a La Fontaine, all further additions enter into the same system of morality; and the course of adventure is nearly the same. Thus genius, after flourishing for a certain age, must necessarily degenerate.

Those kinds of science whose subjects permit of perpetual renewal, such as history and physical observations, and which require only industry, judgment, and a common understanding, can more easily keep their ground; and the manual arts, such as painting and sculpture, can never degenerate, when the supreme governors, as Louis XIV., are careful only to employ the best artists; for in painting and sculpture the same subjects may be treated a hundred different ways. The holy family is drawn every day, though it is a subject on which Raphael has displayed the utmost power of his art: but it would be ridiculous again to undertake a "Cinna," an "Andromache," an "Art of Poetry," and a "Tartuffe."[1]

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[1] We cannot think this a fair comparison. A picture appeals instantaneously to the eye, which enjoys it at the first glance; but a man must take some pains to make himself judge of a tragedy. A picture is a valuable piece of

It is also observable that, the last age having instructed the present, it has become so easy to write indifferent books that we have been plagued with trifling pieces; and, what is still worse, many of them are very serious and very useless. But amid this quantity of works of small merit, an evil necessary in a town like this, large, opulent, and idle, where one part of the people is always striving to amuse the other, there will from time to time be found excellent pieces, either of history or reflection, or of that artificial kind of writing which amuses everybody.[2]

The French nation has, above all others, produced most of these performances. Their lan-

furniture, an original ornament, of which the owner is sole possessor; an eighteen-penny pamphlet makes no figure at all, and is besides common to thousands, a circumstance that must greatly diminish its value. Yet we will be bold to say that, if the said subject for tragedy were treated by a dozen different authors of established reputation, we should peruse them all with pleasure, and if there were but one copy of each, it would perhaps bring as great a price as an original Madonna.

[2] The writings of the present age have been undervalued, not from their mediocrity, but from their abundance. Genius has become cheap, because the market is overstocked. Pope was caressed by the great as the first poet of the age. His friendship was courted by the first persons in the nation and his fortune was made at once by a liberal subscription. Let it not be imagined that we want to detract from the merits or fame of this excellent writer when we declare our opinion that there are now living several authors, equal to Pope in poetical merit, who have never felt one ray of patronage or protection.

guage has become the language of Europe. Everything has contributed thereto: the celebrated writers of the age of Louis the Great; the Calvinist ministers who were banished, and carried eloquence and method into other countries; a Rapin de Thoyras, who published in French the only good history of England;[1] a St. Évremond, whose acquaintance was sought by the whole English court; a duchess of Mazarin, whom they were all zealous to please; and a Madame d'Olbreuse, afterward duchess of Zell, who carried into Germany all the perfections of her native country; but above all, that social spirit which is the natural characteristic of the French, a merit and pleasure of which other nations feel the necessity. The French tongue, above all others, expresses every subject of genteel conversation with more ease, correctness, and elegance, and thereby contributes, all over Europe, to the greatest, the most amiable pleasures of life.

SEQUEL OF THE ARTS.

The arts that do not depend absolutely upon the mind, such as music, painting, sculpture, architecture, etc., made but small progress in France before that period which we distinguish by the name of the age of Louis XIV. Music was as yet in its infancy;

[1] This assertion will, we hope, admit of a dispute. Rapin reigned for some years, because there was no competitor. The case is otherwise at present.

all that we knew were some songs, and a few airs for the violin, the guitar, and the oboe, most of which were composed in Spain. The taste, the skill of a Lulli, amazed the world; he was the first who in France introduced bases, stops, and fugues. However easy and simple his compositions may now appear, the execution of them must have cost him some trouble. There are at this time a thousand people who understand music for one who was proficient in the days of Louis XIII., and the art has, by degrees, arrived at perfection.[1]

Few great towns are now without a public concert; whereas then there was not one, even in Paris. The king's band, of twenty-four violins, was all the music of France. The different species of science belonging to music, and its dependent arts, made such progress that, about the end of Louis XIV.'s reign, the art of pricking down dances was invented; so that it may now be truly said we dance by book.

Even in the regency of Mary de Medici, we had very good architects; she built the palace of Luxembourg in the Tuscan style, to do honor to her own country and embellish ours. That Debrosse to whom we owe the portal of St. Gervais also superintended the structure of that queen's palace, which she never enjoyed. It is a mistake to sup-

[1] What music may have gained in composition it seems to have lost in expression, for the modern refinements of this art are calculated to tickle the ear rather than wake or assuage the passions of the heart.

pose that Cardinal Richelieu, with equal greatness of soul, equalled her in taste. His palace, which now belongs to the crown, is a proof of this assertion. When that beautiful front of the Louvre, which with regret we still behold unfinished, was first raised, we conceived the warmest expectations. Many magnificent buildings have been erected by citizens, which have been more highly finished within than without, and which contribute more to gratify the luxury of individuals than to embellish the city.

Colbert, the Mæcenas of arts, founded an academy of architecture in 1671. It is not enough to have Vitruviuses, we must also have Augustuses to employ them.

It is also necessary that the magistrates should be men of public spirit, and possessed of taste. Two or three such mayors of Paris as Turgot would have prevented the reproach now cast upon that city, on account of the town house, so badly built, and so poorly situated; of the public squares, so small and irregular, remarkable only for executions and bonfires; and of the principal streets, so extremely narrow: and, in fine, for those remains of barbarity, still existing in the midst of grandeur and the very bosom of the arts.

Painting began with Poussin in the days of Louis XIII. It is not worth while to take notice of the indifferent artists who preceded him. We have always had excellent painters since; though not

indeed in that abundance which constitutes part of the wealth of Italy. Suppose we should pass over the name of Lesueur, who had no master but himself, or Lebrun, who in design and composition equalled the Italians; yet we can boast of more than thirty painters, who have left behind them pieces worthy of the most accurate attention. Foreigners begin to purchase them of us. I have seen the galleries and grand apartments of a great monarch, which have been adorned only with pictures of our country's produce, with whose merit we were not perhaps sufficiently acquainted. I have seen in France twelve thousand livres refused for a picture of Santerre. Europe cannot boast a greater, nor perhaps a more elegant piece of painting than the ceiling at Versailles by Lemoine.

Foreigners admit a painter now among us to be the first in Europe. Colbert not only gave to the academy of painting its present form, but he prevailed upon Louis XIV. to establish one at Rome, in 1667. A house was there purchased for the superintendent. Pupils are sent thither who have obtained the premium in the academy at Paris. They are sent and maintained at the king's expense; they design after antiques, and study the works of Raphael and Michelangelo. This ambition of imitating its treasures is a noble homage paid to ancient and modern Rome; and we still continue it, notwithstanding the immense collection of Italian pictures made by the duke of Orleans and the king,

and those masterpieces of sculpture, which France has produced, which set us above the search after foreign assistance.

We have excelled principally in sculpture, and in the art of casting, in metal, colossal equestrian figures.

Should there hereafter be discovered in ruins such masterpieces of art as the baths of Apollo, exposed to all the injuries of the weather in the gardens of Versailles; the tomb of Cardinal Richelieu in the chapel of the Sorbonne, not sufficiently pointed out to the public; the equestrian statue of Louis XV., made at Paris, to grace Bordeaux; the Mercury sent by the present king of France as a present to his majesty of Prussia, and other performances equal in merit to those I have named, is it not probable they would set this age in a light as advantageous as the most polished era of ancient Greece?

We have equalled the ancients in our medals. Varin raised this art above mediocrity about the end of the reign of Louis XIII. The number and variety of these pieces which we see ranged in historical order in that part of the gallery of the Louvre assigned to the artists is admirable. There are above two millions, and most of them very masterly.

Nor have we been less successful in the art of engraving precious stones. That of multiplying pictures upon copper, and transmitting with ease to posterity all the representations of art and nature,

was, before this time, in a very imperfect state in France. It is one of the most useful and pleasing arts. We are indebted for it to the Florentines, among whom it was invented about the middle of the fifteenth century; and it has been more improved in France than Italy: we have a vast number of finished works of this kind. The king's collection of prints has been often considered as one of the most magnificent presents that could be given to ambassadors. Chasing in gold and silver, which depends much upon invention and taste, has been carried to the highest perfection of which the hand of man is capable.

Having thus traversed those arts which contribute to the delight of individuals, and the glory of a state, let us not pass over in silence one of the most useful of all others, in which France surpasses all nations of the world; I mean surgery, the progress of which was so rapid and celebrated that people crowded to Paris from all parts of Europe for those cures and operations which require uncommon dexterity of hand. Besides the fact that good surgeons were to be found scarcely anywhere but in France, it was the only country in which the instruments necessary to that art were properly finished. They supplied all their neighbors; and the celebrated Cheselden, one of the greatest surgeons in London, told me that it was he who first caused them to be manufactured in that city, in 1715. Physic, which contributes to perfect the

chirurgical art, did not make a more rapid progress in France than in England, and under Boerhaave in Holland. But we may say of physic as of philosophy, that, by making use of the light communicated to us by our neighbors, we have raised it to the greatest possible perfection.

Thus have I given a general and faithful portrait of the progress of human genius among the French in this age, which began under Cardinal Richelieu, and ended with our own times. It will be difficult to surpass it; and if by any means it be surpassed, it will always remain a model for those more fortunate ages to which it may give birth.

THE CEREMONIES OF THE CHINESE.

It was not sufficient for the disquiet of our minds that we disputed at the end of seventeen hundred years upon the articles of our own religion, but we must likewise introduce into our quarrels those of the Chinese. This dispute, however, was not productive of any great disturbances; but it served more than any other to characterize that busy, contentious, and jarring spirit which prevails in our climates.

Matthew Ricci, the Jesuit, had been one of the first missionaries to China at the end of the seventeenth century. The Chinese were then, and still are, almost at the same stage in philosophy and literature that we were two hundred years ago. The

veneration they have for their ancient masters makes them afraid of passing certain bounds. Progress in the sciences is the work of time and a daring genius; but morality and policy, being more easy to comprehend than the sciences, and these being brought to perfection among them before the other arts, it has happened that the Chinese, who have continued over two thousand years within the same limits, are but mediocre in the sciences, and are the first, as well as the most ancient, people in the world in morals and policy.

After Ricci, many other Jesuits found the way into this vast empire; and by the help of the European sciences they secretly scattered some seeds of Christianity among the children of that people, whom they took care to instruct whenever they had an opportunity. Some Dominicans, who were joined in this mission, accused the Jesuits of permitting idolatry, while they preached Christianity. This was a delicate point, and so was the conduct to be observed in China.

The laws and tranquillity of this great empire are founded on the most natural, and at the same time the most sacred, of all rights — the respect of children for their parents. To this respect they join that which they owe to their first masters in morality, and especially to Confutzee, or Confucius, as we call him, an ancient philosopher, who had taught them the principles of virtue five hundred years before the founding of Christianity.

Every family assembles on a particular day to do honor to their ancestors; and the learned meet publicly to honor Confucius. They prostrate themselves according to their manner of saluting their superiors, which was formerly called adoration throughout all Asia. They burn wax tapers and perfumes. The colaos, to whom the Spaniards have given the name of mandarins, twice a year kill several animals, near the hall where Confucius is honored, and feast upon them. Are these ceremonies idolatrous, or are they merely civil institutions? Do they hereby acknowledge their parents and Confucius for deities; or are they even invoked, as our saints are? In short, is this a political custom which some of the more superstitious Chinese abuse? These were questions that could not easily be cleared up in China by strangers, and which we were unable to decide in Europe.

The Dominicans laid an account of the customs of the Chinese before the Inquisition of Rome in 1645. The holy office, from their representation, forbade the use of these ceremonies till the pope should give his decision.

The Jesuits defended the cause of the Chinese and their ceremonies, which in their opinion could not be forbidden, without forever barring the entrance against Christianity in an empire so jealous of its customs. They presented their reasons on this head. In 1656 the Inquisition decided to permit the literati to continue to revere Confucius, and

the Chinese children to honor their ancestors; but protested against all superstition, if there was any.

While the affair remained thus undecided, the missionaries being always divided, and the matter cropping up at Rome from time to time, the Jesuits at Pekin insinuated themselves so far into the esteem of the emperor Cam-hi, by their mathematical knowledge, that this prince, renowned for his virtue and goodness, permitted them to exercise their office of missionaries, and teach Christianity publicly. But here it may be necessary to observe that this despotic monarch, grandson of the conqueror of China, was nevertheless subject by custom to the laws of the empire; that he could not by his own authority alone permit the exercise of Christianity, and was obliged to consult one of the tribunals upon that head; and he even drew up two petitions in the name of the Jesuits. At last, in 1672, Christianity was permitted in China, through the indefatigable pains and address of the Jesuits alone.

There is at Paris a house established for foreign missionaries. Some priests educated here were then in China. The pope, who sends apostolic vicars into all the countries, which they call the regions of infidelity, made choice of a priest named Maigrot, out of this house, to go to preside as vicar in the Chinese mission, and gave him the bishopric of Conon, a little Chinese province in Fo-kien. This Frenchman, having thus become a bishop in China,

began with not only declaring the rites performed for the dead to be superstitious and idolatrous, but also pronounced the learned men of that nation atheists; so that the Jesuits had now more to do to struggle against their brother missionaries than against the mandarins and the people. They represented to the court of Rome that it was not consistent that the Chinese should be at once atheists and idolaters. It was urged against these learned men that they admitted only matter, but then the difficulty was to account for their invoking the souls of their deceased ancestors, and that of Confucius. One of these charges evidently destroyed the other, unless it was pretended that they admitted contradictions in China, as is so frequently done with us. But it was necessary to be well acquainted with their language and manners to reconcile this seeming contradiction. This affair remained a long time before the court of Rome; and in the meantime the Jesuits were attacked on all sides.

Father Lecomte, one of their most learned missionaries, had expressed himself thus in his memoirs of China: "This people have had among them for two thousand years a knowledge of the true God; and have sacrificed to the Creator of the universe in the most ancient temple of the world. China practised the purest lessons of morality when Europe was in darkness and corruption."

We have already seen that this nation goes up, by an authentic history, and by a succession of

thirty-six calculated eclipses, even beyond the era in which we place the deluge. The learned men of that nation have never had any other religion than that which consists in the adoration of a supreme being. Their worship was justice. They could not be acquainted with the laws of Moses, nor the more perfect law of the Messiah, which remained so long unknown to the nations of the West and North. It is certain that Gaul, Germany, England, and all the North, were plunged in the most barbarous idolatry when the tribunals of the vast empire of China cultivated morality and the observance of laws, at the same time acknowledging one sole God, whom they always worshipped in the same simple manner, without the least variation. These evident truths were more than sufficient to justify the expressions made use of by Father Lecomte; but as there was something in these assertions which seemed to clash with the received notions, they were attacked in the Sorbonne.

In 1700 Abbé Boileau, brother to Despréaux, as great a critic as his brother, and a greater enemy to the Jesuits, declared this encomium on the Chinese to be a direct blasphemy. This abbé was a man of a lively and peculiar genius, who wrote the most serious and bold things in a humorous style. He was author of a book entitled "Flagellants," and some other pieces of the like kind. He said he wrote them in Latin, for fear of being censured by the bishops. His brother said of him that if he had

not been a doctor of the Sorbonne, he would have been a doctor of the Italian comedy. He declaimed violently against the Jesuits and the Chinese, and began by saying that the encomiums on that people had shaken his Christian brain. The brains of the rest of that assembly seemed to be not much less disordered. There were some debates on the subject. A reverend doctor, named Le Sage, was of opinion that twelve of their brethren, of the most robust constitution, should be sent upon the spot to instruct themselves in every particular. The debate grew warm; but at length the Sorbonne declared the encomiums given to the Chinese false, scandalous, rash, impious, and heretical.

This dispute, which was carried on with great warmth, inflamed that about the ceremonies; and in the following year Pope Clement XI. sent a legate to China. The person he made choice of on the occasion was Thomas Maillard de Tournon, titulary patriarch of Antioch, who did not arrive in China till 1705. The court of Pekin were till that time wholly ignorant that they had been under trial at Rome and Paris. The emperor Cam-hi at first received de Tournon with great civility. But how great was his surprise when he understood by the legate's interpreters that the Christians who preached their religion in his empire did not agree among themselves, and that this legate came to decide a dispute of which the court of Pekin had never till then heard the least mention. The legate

gave his majesty to understand that all the missionaries, except the Jesuits, condemned the ancient customs of his empire, and even suspected his Chinese majesty and all the learned men of his kingdom to be atheists, who admitted only of a material heaven. He added that he had in his dominions the learned bishop of Conon, who would explain these matters more fully, if his majesty would condescend to give him a hearing. The monarch found his surprise increasing when he was informed that he had bishops in his empire; and the reader will not be less surprised to find that this prince carried his indulgence so far as to permit the bishop of Conon to come to him to talk against his religion, the customs of his country, and even against himself. The bishop of Conon was admitted to an audience. He was very little acquainted with the Chinese language. The emperor began by asking him the meaning of four characters which were drawn in gold above his throne. Maigrot could read only two; but he maintained that the words "*King-tien,*" which the emperor had written in his pocket-book, did not signify "adore the Lord of Heaven." The emperor had the patience to explain to him that that was the precise meaning of these words, and even condescended to enter into a long argument, in which he vindicated the honors paid to the dead. The bishop, however, remained inflexible; and it may well be believed that the Jesuits had more interest at court than he. The emperor, who by the laws

of the country, might have put him to death, contented himself with only banishing him; and passed an ordinance that all the Europeans willing to remain in his empire should for the future be obliged to take his letters of protection, and undergo an examination.

As for de Tournon, the legate, he had orders to quit the capital. As soon as he got to Nankin he published a mandate, entirely condemning all the Chinese rites, in regard to the dead, and forbidding the use of that expression which the emperor used to signify "the God of heaven."

Upon this the legate was banished to Macao, of which the Chinese always retain the sovereignty, though they permit the Portuguese to have a governor there. While he was in confinement here, the pope sent him a hat; but this only served to make him die a cardinal, for he ended his days there in 1710. The enemies of the Jesuits laid his death to their charge. It was sufficient if they imputed his banishment to them.

These divisions among strangers who came into the empire, on pretence of instructing it, greatly discredited the religion they preached. It suffered still more when the court, who began to study the Europeans more closely than heretofore, discovered that, not only were the missionaries thus divided, but that among the traders who came from Canton there were several sects, sworn enemies to each other.

The emperor Cam-hi did not cool toward the Jesuits, but greatly toward Christianity. His successor drove out all the missionaries, and proscribed the Christian religion. This was the effect partly of those disputes, and partly of that insolence with which strangers had pretended to know better than the emperor and his magistrates, in what sense the Chinese honored their ancestors.

These disputes, so long the object of attention at Paris, as well as many others, arising from a mixture of idleness and restlessness, are now utterly forgotten; people are surprised that they ever produced such animosities; and the spirit of philosophy, which daily gains ground, bids fair to secure the public tranquillity.

The emperor Cam-hi died in 1724. This prince was a great lover of all the European arts. Some Jesuits had been sent to his court, who, by their consummate knowledge and the eminent services they did him, gained his affection, and obtained from him, as we have already observed, permission to exercise and teach the Christian religion publicly, throughout his dominions.

His fourth son, Yon-tching, whom he had nominated to the empire, to the exclusion of the elder brothers, succeeded him peaceably, without his brothers murmuring, or showing the least sign of discontent. Filial piety and obedience, which is the fundamental law of that empire, makes it a crime and disgrace, in persons of whatsoever condition,

to complain of the last will, or determination, of a parent.

The new emperor even exceeded his father in a regard for the laws and welfare of his people. No prince ever gave greater encouragement to agriculture. He carried his attention to this first of all the necessary arts so far as to bestow the rank of a mandarin of the eighth order on such husbandmen in each of the provinces of the empire as, in the opinions of the magistrates of the canton, should be deemed the most diligent, industrious, and honest in their vocations; but this rank did not take them from the exercise of their profession, though it called them to seats in the courts of judicature; they were still to remain what they were before their elevation to this new dignity, only they bore the title of mandarins, which gave them a right to sit in the presence of the viceroy of the province, and to eat at his table. Their names were registered in letters of gold, in one of the public halls. It is said that this regulation, so very different from our customs, and which is in fact a kind of satire upon them, still exists.

This prince also ordered that no person should be put to death in all his extensive empire, till the proceedings against him had been laid before the emperor, not once only, but three times successively. The two principal motives for this edict are as respectable as the edict itself, as they show the great

value that should be set upon the life of every man, and the tenderness a king owes his people.

He caused immense magazines of rice to be filled in each province, with an economy that did not burden the people, and which effectually provided against a dearth at any future time. All the provinces vied with each other in giving testimonies of joy and gratitude, by public shows and triumphal arches, which were everywhere erected to the name of this father of his country. However, Yon-tching published an edict ordering a stop to be put to these exhibitions, which were injurious to the economy he had recommended; and positively forbade the erecting of any more monuments to his honor, expressing himself thus, in the rescript he sent to the mandarins: "I did not bestow favors from the vain motive of applause; I would have my people happy and better; and that they should discharge the several duties of their station; these are the only monuments I desire, or will accept."

Such was the character of this emperor; and unhappily this was the prince who proscribed the Christian religion. The Jesuits had at that time several churches, in which they openly performed their worship; and even some princes of the imperial blood had actually received baptism at their hands. Some fatal innovation was apprehended in the state: it was no secret that, at that very time, Christianity had excited furious disorders in Japan, and this made an impression on all minds that

the sanctity of the religion itself, for want of being properly known, could not counterbalance. It was also well known that at that very time the disputes between the Christian missionaries of the different orders then at Tonquin had occasioned the total extirpation of their religion in that province; and as these very disputes were carried to a still greater height in China, almost all the tribunals were exasperated against a set of people who appeared divided among themselves, in relation to the most essential points of the religion they came to preach to others. In short, information was received that at Canton there were English, Dutch, Swedish, and Danish settlers, who, though all calling themselves Christians, were yet of a different religion from the Christians of Macao.

These various considerations determined the supreme tribunal of rites to forbid the further exercise of the Christian religion. This edict was published January 10, 1724, but without any reflection upon, or punishment decreed against, the missionaries, or even the least offensive reproach; nay, the words of the edict invited the emperor to retain such of them about his person at Pekin as he should judge necessary for the furtherance of mathematical knowledge. The emperor confirmed this edict, and issued an order at the same time, that the missionaries should be sent back to Macao, under the care of a mandarin, who was to protect them from

all insults by the way; these are the express words of the emperor's ordinance.

He kept some few of them about him, and among the rest the Jesuit Parrenin, whose character I have already given, and who was equally famous for his great erudition, and the wise and prudent manner in which he conducted himself. This man spoke the Chinese and Tartar languages perfectly, and was indeed a very necessary person, not only as an interpreter, but also as a mathematician. He is the best known to us of any of the missionaries of that time by the wise and instructive answers he has given to the learned objections started by one of our best philosophers, in relation to the sciences of the Chinese. This priest was in high favor with the emperor Cam-hi, and held in no less degree of esteem by his son and successor, Yon-tching. If any one could have warded off this blow on Christianity, it would have been he. He, with two other Jesuits, his brethren in the mission, obtained an audience of the emperor's brother, who was appointed to examine the edict and make a report to the emperor. Parrenin, with great candor, relates the reply this prince gave to them, who was their patron and protector: "Your affairs give me a great deal of trouble and uneasiness. I have read the accusations brought against you: your continual quarrels with the other Europeans in relation to the rites and ceremonies of the Chinese worship have done you irreparable prejudice. What

would you say, or how would you act, if we were to come over to Europe and behave as you have done here? Answer me ingenuously; would you suffer it?" They had no answer to make to this. Nevertheless, they prevailed on the prince to speak to the emperor in their favor; and being afterward admitted to speak to the emperor in person, he declared that he was resolved to send away every one who called himself a missionary.

We have already related these words of the emperor: "You have deceived my father; think not to deceive me likewise."

Notwithstanding the prudent orders issued by the emperor, some Jesuits were indiscreet enough to return clandestinely into some of the provinces, in the reign of the successor of this Yon-tching, who condemned them to die as open violators of the laws of the empire, as we in France put to death such Huguenot preachers as, in disobedience to the order of the king, gather congregations, or assemble the people of a province or country. This desire of making proselytes is a malady endemic to our climates, as I have already remarked, and has been always unknown to those of Upper Asia. These people never sent missionaries into Europe; we are the only people in the world who are desirous of carrying our religion, like our trade, to all parts of the globe.

The Jesuits were even the cause of the deaths of several of the Chinese, in particular two princes

of the blood, who were suspected of favoring them too much. What a misfortune! to come from the extremity of the earth to sow discord in an imperial family, and be the cause of two princes falling by the hands of executioners! These men, to render their mission respectable in Europe, pretended that God declared in their favor, by causing four crosses to appear in the sky over China, and have given us the figure of these crosses, in a copper-plate, in their curious and edifying letters; but if God had been willing that the Chinese should become Christians, would He have been contented with hanging these crosses in the air? Would He not rather have fixed them in the hearts of the people?

A RECAPITULATION OF THE FOREGOING HISTORY, WITH THE POINT OF VIEW FROM WHICH IT OUGHT TO BE CONSIDERED.

I have now gone through the immense scene of revolutions that the world has experienced since the time of Charlemagne; and to what have they all tended? To desolation, and the loss of millions of lives! Every great event has been a capital misfortune. History has kept no account of times of peace and tranquillity; it relates only ravages and disasters.

We have beheld our Europe overspread with

barbarians after the fall of the Roman Empire; and these barbarians, after becoming Christians, continually at war with the Mahometans, or else destroying each other.

We have seen Italy desolated by perpetual wars between city and city; the Guelphs and Ghibellines mutually destroying each other; whole ages of conspiracies, and successive irruptions of distant nations who have passed the Alps, and driven each other from their settlements by turns, till at length, in all this beautiful and extensive country, there remained only two states of any importance governed by their own natives — Venice and Rome. The others, namely, Naples, Sicily, Milan, Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany are under the dominion of foreigners.

The other great states of Christendom have suffered equally by wars and intestine commotions; but none of them has been brought under subjection to a neighboring power. The result of these endless disturbances and perpetual jars has been only the separating of some small provinces from one state, to be transferred to another. Flanders, for example, formerly under the suzerainty of France, passed to the house of Burgundy from foreign hands, and from this house to that of Austria; and a small part of this Flanders came again into the hands of the French in the reign of Louis XIV. Several provinces of ancient Gaul were in former times dismembered. Alsace, which was a part of

ancient Gaul, became a province of Germany, and is at this day a province of France. Upper Navarre, which should be a demesne of the elder branch of the house of Bourbon, belongs to the younger; and Roussillon, which formerly belonged to the Spaniards, now belongs to the crown of France.

During all these shocks, there have been formed since the time of Charlemagne only two absolutely independent republics — that of Switzerland and that of Holland.

No one great kingdom has been able to subdue another. France, notwithstanding the conquests of Edward III. and Henry V.; notwithstanding the victories and efforts of Charles V. and Philip II., has still preserved its limits, and even extended them; Spain, Germany, Great Britain, Poland, and the northern states are nearly as they were formerly.

What then have been the fruits of the blood of so many millions of men shed in battle, and the sacking of so many cities? Nothing great or considerable. The Christian powers have lost a great deal to the Turks, within these five centuries, and have gained scarcely anything from each other.

All history, then, in short, is little else than a long succession of useless cruelties; and if there happens any great revolution, it will bury the remembrance of all past disputes, wars, and fraudulent treaties, which have produced so many transitory miseries.

In the number of these miseries we may with

justice include the disturbances and civil wars on the score of religion. Of these Europe has experienced two kinds, and it is hard to say which of them has proved more fatal to her. The first, as we have already seen, was the dispute of the popes with the emperors and kings: this began in the time of Louis the Feeble, and was not entirely at an end, in Germany, till after the reign of Charles V. in England, till suppressed by the resolution of Queen Elizabeth, and in France, till the submission of Henry IV. The other source of so much bloodshed was the rage of dogmatizing. This has caused the subversion of more than one state, from the time of the massacre of the Albigenses to the thirteenth century, and from the small war of the Cévennois to the beginning of the eighteenth. The field and the scaffold ran with blood on account of theological arguments, sometimes in one century, sometimes in another, for almost five hundred years, without interruption; and the long continuance of this dreadful scourge was owing to the fact that morality was always neglected to indulge a spirit of dogmatizing.

It must once again be acknowledged that history in general is a collection of crimes, follies, and misfortunes, among which we have now and then met with a few virtues, and some happy times; as we sometimes see a few scattered huts in a barren desert.

In those times of darkness and ignorance, which

we distinguish by the name of the Middle Ages, no one perhaps ever deserved so well of mankind as Pope Alexander VIII. It was he who abolished vassalage, in a council which he held in the twelfth century. It was he who triumphed in Venice by his prudence, over the brutal violence of Frederick Barbarossa, and who obliged Henry II. of England to ask pardon of God and man for the murder of Thomas à Becket.[1] He restored the rights of the people, and chastised the wickedness of crowned heads. We have had occasion to remark that before this time, all Europe, a very small number of cities excepted, was divided between two ranks of people — the lords or owners of lands, either ecclesiastical or secular, and the villeins, or slaves. The lawyers, who assisted the knights, bailiffs, and stewards of fiefs, in giving their sentences, were in fact, no other than bondmen, or villeins, themselves. And, if mankind at length enjoy their rights, it is to Pope Alexander VIII. that they are chiefly indebted for this happy change. It is to him

[1] That is to say, he obliged a great prince to do shameful penance, for a murder in which he had no hand; and by what means did he manifest this power? By employing all the villainous arts of priestcraft to alienate the affections of the people from their natural sovereign; by excommunications, interdictions, and absolving the subjects from their oaths of allegiance. As for Becket, whom Alexander allowed to be canonized, we hope there are not three Britons now living who do not detest his character, as that of a pernicious firebrand, whose pride, insolence, and fanaticism kept his sovereign and his country in continual disquiet.

that so many cities owe their present splendor; nevertheless, we know that this liberty was not universally extended. It has never made its way into Poland; the husbandman there is still a slave, and confined to the glebe; it is the same in Bohemia, Suabia, and several other countries of Germany; and even in France, in some of the provinces the most remote from the capital, we still see remains of this slavery. There are some chapters and monks who claim a right to all the goods of the peasants.

In Asia, on the contrary, there are no slaves but those which are purchased with money, or taken prisoners in battle. In the Christian states of Europe they do not buy slaves, neither do they reduce their prisoners of war to a state of servitude. The Asiatics have only a domestic servitude; Christians only a civil one. The peasant in Poland is a bondman in the lands, but not in the house of his lord. We make household slaves only of the negroes; we are severely reproached for this kind of traffic, but the people who make a trade of selling their children are certainly more blamable than those who purchase them, and this traffic is only a proof of our superiority. He who voluntarily subjects himself to a master is designed by nature for a slave.

We have seen that, from time immemorial, they have tolerated all religions in Asia, much as is at present done in England, Holland, and Germany. We have observed that this toleration was more gen-

eral in Japan than in any other country whatever, till the fatal affair which rendered that government so inexorable.

We may have observed, in the course of so many revolutions, that several nations almost entirely savage have been formed both in Europe and Asia, in those very countries which were formerly the most civilized. Thus, some of the islands of the Archipelago, which were once so flourishing, are now little better than Indian habitations in America. The country where were formerly the cities of Artaxata, and Tigranocerta, have not now even half the value of some of our petty colonies. There are, in some of the islands, forests, and mountains in the very heart of Europe, a set of people who are in nothing superior to those of Canada, or the negroes of Africa. The Turks are more civilized, but we hardly know of one city built by them; they have suffered the most noble and beautiful monuments of antiquity to fall to decay, and reign only over a pile of ruins.

They have nothing in Asia that in the least resembles our European nobility; nor is there to be found throughout the whole East any one order of citizens distinguished from the others by hereditary titles, or particular privileges and indulgences, annexed solely to birth. The Tartars seem to be the only people who have some faint shadow of this institution, in the race of their Mirzas. We meet with nothing, either in Turkey, Persia, the Indies, or China, that

bears any similitude to that body of nobility which forms an essential part of every European monarchy. We must go as far as Malabar to meet with any likeness to this sort of constitution; and there again it is very different, and consists in a tribe wholly dedicated to bearing arms, and which never intermixes, by marriage or otherwise, with any of the other tribes or castes, and will not even condescend to hold any commerce with them.

The greatest differences between us and the Orientals is in the manner of treating our women. No female ever reigned in the East, unless that princess of Mingrelia, whom Sir John Chardin tells us of in his voyages, and whom he accuses of robbing him. In France, though the women cannot wear the crown, they may be regents of the kingdom, and have a right to every other throne but that of the empire and Poland.

Another difference in our manner of treating women is the custom of placing about their persons men deprived of their virility, a custom which has always prevailed in Asia and Africa, and has at times been introduced into Europe by the Roman emperors. At present there are not throughout all Christendom two hundred eunuchs employed, either in our churches or theatres, whereas all the Eastern seraglios swarm with them.

In short, we differ in every respect, in religion, policy, government, manners, food, clothing, and even in our manner of writing, expressing, and

thinking. That in which we most resemble them is that propensity to war, slaughter, and destruction, which has always depopulated the face of the earth. It must be owned, however, that this rage has taken much less possession of the minds of the people of India and China than of ours. In particular, we have no instance of the Indians or Chinese having made war upon the inhabitants of the North. In this respect they are much better members of society than ourselves; but then, on the other hand, this very virtue, or rather meekness, of theirs has been their ruin; for they have been all enslaved.

In the midst of the ravages and desolations which we have observed during the space of nine hundred years, we perceive a love for order which secretly animates human kind, and has prevented its total ruin. This is one of the springs of nature which always recovers its tone; it is this which has formed the code of all nations, and this inspires a veneration for the laws and the ministers of the laws at Tonquin, and in the island of Formosa, the same as at Rome. Children respect their parents in all countries, and in every country — let others say what they will — the son is his father's heir; for, though in Turkey the son of a Timariot does not inherit his father's dignity, nor, in India, the son of an Omra his lands, the reason is because neither the one nor the other belong to the father himself. A place for life is, in no country of the world, considered as an inheritance; but in Persia, in India,

and throughout all Asia, every native, and even every stranger, of whatsoever religion, except in Japan, may purchase lands that are not part of the crown demesnes, and leave them to his family.

In Europe there are still some nations where the law will not suffer a stranger to purchase a field or a burying-place in their territories. The barbarous right of aubaine, by which a stranger beholds his father's estate go to the king's treasury, still exists in all the Christian states, unless where it is otherwise provided by private convention.

We likewise have a notion that in the eastern countries the women are all slaves, because they are confined to the duties of domestic life. If they were really slaves, they must become beggars at the death of their husbands, which is not the case; the law everywhere provides a stated portion for them, and this portion they obtain in case of a divorce. In every part of the world, we find laws established for the support of families.

In all nations there is a proper curb to arbitrary power, either by law, custom, or manners. The Turkish sultan can neither touch the public treasure, break the janissaries, nor interfere with the inside of the seraglios of any of his subjects. The emperor of China cannot publish a single edict without the sanction of a tribunal. Every state is at times liable to violent oppressions; the grand viziers and the itimadoulets exercise rapine and murder, it is true, but they are no more authorized so to do by the laws

than the wild Arabs or wandering Tartars are to plunder the caravans.

Religion teaches the same principles of morality to all nations, without exception; the ceremonies of the Asiatics are ridiculous, their belief absurd, but their precepts are just; the dervish, the fakir, the bonze, and the talapoin, are always crying out: "Be just and beneficent." The common people in China are accused of being great cheats in trade; they are perhaps encouraged to this vice by knowing that they can procure absolution for their crime of their bonzes for a trifling sum of money. The moral precepts taught them are good, the indulgence which is sold them is bad.

We are not to credit those travellers and missionaries, who have represented the Eastern priests to us as persons who preach up iniquity; this is traducing human nature, it is not possible that there should ever exist a religious society instituted for the encouragement or propagation of vice.

We should equally deceive ourselves, were we to believe that the Mahometan religion owes its establishment wholly to the sword. The Mahometans have had their missionaries in the Indies and in China; and the sects of Omar and Ali dispute with each other for proselytes, even on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar.

From all that we have observed in this sketch of universal history, it follows that whatever concerns human nature is the same from one end of the

universe to the other, and that what is dependent upon custom differs, or, if there is any resemblance, it is the effect of chance. The dominion of custom is much more extensive than that of nature, and influences all manners and all usages. It diffuses variety over the face of the universe. Nature establishes unity, and everywhere settles a few invariable principles; the soil is still the same, but culture produces various fruits.

As nature has placed in the heart of man interest, pride, and all the passions, it is no wonder that, during a period of about six centuries, we meet with almost a continual succession of crimes and disasters. If we go back to earlier ages, we shall find them no better. Custom has ordered it so that evil has everywhere operated in a different manner.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

ON

"THE AGE OF LOUIS."

OTHER WRITERS OF THE PERIOD.

Destouches, after having written several comedies, was for a long time chargé d'affaires from the court of France to London, and having filled this office satisfactorily, he returned to his former vocation of writing plays. His pieces have not the energy and sprightliness of those of Regnard, nor do they furnish us with such lively pictures of the human heart: they have not that true natural humor, that excellent comic coloring which makes the distinguishing merit of the inimitable Molière; and yet he has preserved the next place to himself, after these two authors. There are some of his efforts which have met with great success, though the humor in them appears rather too much forced. He has been at least happy enough to avoid that whining kind of comedy, or rather low tragedy, which is indeed neither tragedy nor comedy, but a monstrous production, which arose after the age of Louis XIV., and was owing partly to a want of

capacity in the writers, and partly to a disordered taste in the public after those golden days of literature. The comedy of *"Le Glorieux,"* or "The Boaster," is one of his best performances, and bids fair to keep possession of the stage, though some will have it that the character of *"Le Glorieux"* is not well filled; however, the other characters are undoubtedly admirably finished.

Fontenelle suffered a kind of literary persecution for having maintained that in many respects the moderns were equal to the ancients. Racine and Boileau, though, in some measure, interested that Fontenelle should be in the right, affected to despise him; and for a considerable time kept the doors of the Academy shut against him. They wrote several epigrams on him, and he on them, and they were for a considerable time at open enmity.

Fontenelle's "History of Oracles," which is a very moderate and decent abridgment of the great history of Vandalis, drew on him more violent enemies than either Racine or Boileau. Two compilers of the lives of the saints, Pabebroke and Bolandus, Flemish Jesuits, and a third named Baltus, who were compilers in the literal sense of the word, wrote after their manner against the reasonable opinions of Vandalis and Fontenelle. The Parisian philosopher did not trouble to answer them; but the learned Basnage, a Dutch philosopher, essayed to refute their absurdities, and the compilers were no longer read. Several years afterward the Jesuit Letellier,

confessor to Louis XIV., and the unhappy author of all those disputes which have produced so much evil and contempt in France, represented Fontenelle to his royal penitent as an atheist. Marc René de Paulmy, marquis d'Argenson, at that time lieutenant of the police, and afterward keeper of the seals, warded off the persecution, which was on the point of falling heavy on Fontenelle, as that philosopher acknowledges with gratitude, in his panegyric on M. d'Argenson, pronounced by him in the Academy of Sciences.

Gedouin entered into the society of the Jesuits when fifteen years old, and left it when he came to a riper age. He was such a passionate admirer of the good authors of antiquity that he was willing to forgive them their religion in favor of the beauties of their writings, and their mythology. He discovered in their fables an admirable system of natural philosophy, and the most striking emblems of all the operations of the deity. He was of opinion that the understandings of mankind in general have been greatly confined since their time, and that the more exalted spirit of poetry and eloquence disappeared with the Greek mythology. According to him the famous "Paradise Lost" of Milton is a barbarous, enthusiastic, gloomy, and unpleasing poem, in which the devil is perpetually opposing and inveighing against the Saviour of mankind. He wrote four very curious dissertations on this subject, which the learned hope to see in print ere long.

Count Hamilton's memoirs of the count de Gramont are models of sprightly conversation, rather than that of a book. The chief character of the hero of his piece seems to be that of one who cheats his friends at play, is himself cheated by his own servant, and makes a few jests on other people's conduct and affairs.

Helvetius was father of a true philosopher, who gave up the place of farmer-general of the king's revenues to follow the study of the *belles-lettres*, and who shared the fate of most philosophers, that of being persecuted for their writings and their virtues.

It is possible, after all, that Saurin might have been the author of the stanzas imputed to Rousseau; and though the latter was proved to have written the first five, which were equally severe, yet Saurin might have added the last two in order to ruin him, though there was no rivalry between these two writers; and though Saurin had been for a long time busied in algebraic calculations, and was himself most cruelly handled in these two stanzas; and though all the injured parties unanimously charged Rousseau with them, and Saurin was acquitted by a solemn decree; all this, I say, is within the bounds of possibility; but most certainly it exceeds all probability. Rousseau, indeed, accused him with it to the end of his life, and even reiterated the charge in his last will; but Professor Rollin, to whom Rousseau showed his will at the time that he

came privately to Paris, obliged him to erase this accusation; and Rousseau contented himself with protesting his own innocence, even on his deathbed, but never dared to accuse La Motte, either during the course of the lawsuit, during the remainder of his own life, or in his last moments; but confined himself to writing verses against him. (See the article *Joseph Saurin.*)

Nivelle de la Chaussée has written some comedies in a new and affecting manner, which have had success. It is certain, however, that he lacked the true comic genius so essential to this kind of production. There are many persons of taste who cannot suffer comedies in which there are not strokes of pleasantry and humor; but there is nevertheless no small degree of merit in knowing how to touch the heart, to treat morality in a pleasing manner, and to write verse with elegance and purity; and herein our author particularly excels. He was born during the reign of Louis XIV., and died in the year 1750.

There is neither richness, beauty, sentiment, nor invention in Rousseau's writings; he was very happy in turning an injurious epigram, or a loose stanza. His epistles are written with a pen of steel dipped in the most offensive gall. He styles the daughters of M. Louvancourt, who were three truly amiable sisters, a "leash of hungry she-wolves;" and Rouillé, a counsellor of state, "a snarling, venomous, boorish mountebank," after having lavished

a heap of fulsome praises on him in a very indifferent ode. The expressions, "booby," "puppy," and "scoundrel," in these epistles, are such as would disgrace any writings. It is doubtless the mark of a noble mind to oppose our enemies with becoming courage; but such low abuse, without even the merit of pleasantry, rather bespeaks a base and ignoble soul.

I shall here content myself with observing that Rousseau, by acknowledging himself the author of four of these unlucky stanzas, incurred the guilt of having written all the others, both in the opinion of his judges, and that of every man of honor and understanding. His behavior after his sentence was far from being a proof in his favor, and I have in my hands letters from Sieur Medine, of Brussels, dated May 7, 1737, wherein that gentleman thus expresses himself: "Rousseau had no other table than mine, no other asylum but my house; he took me in his arms a hundred times, with all possible expressions of gratitude, the very day that he persuaded my creditors to arrest me."

Add to this a pilgrimage which Rousseau made to Our Lady of Hall, and then let anyone judge whether he is a person to be credited on his own bare word in relation to the stanzas in question.

De Larue has left several tragedies and comedies of his writing. The tragedy of "Sylla" was offered to the players and refused by them. He is thought to have written a great part of "Andrianne." He

was very intimately connected with the famous player Baron, from whom he learned to declaim. There were two sermons of his, the one called "The Dying Sinner," and the other "The Dead Sinner," which were so much admired that they were wont to be advertised every time he was to preach them.

Joseph Saurin was born in the neighborhood of Orange in 1659. He was a member of the Academy of Sciences, and a person of universal genius: we have nothing of his except some extracts from the *"Journal des Savans,"* some mathematical memoirs, and the noted *"Factum"* against Rousseau. This piece, so unhappily famous, made him enemies for the rest of his life, and subjected him to the most infamous accusations. Rousseau, during his retreat in Switzerland, having learned that his adversary had been a pastor of the Reformed Church at Bercher in the bailiwick of Iverdun, used every possible means to procure witnesses against him. You must know that Joseph Saurin, having taken a distaste to the ministerial function, and being interested in philosophy and mathematics, preferred his native country, France, the city of Paris, and the Academy of Sciences, to the village of Bercher. In order to compass his design, he returned to the bosom of the Romish Church, and made his recantation in 1690. Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, thought he had converted a pastor, whereas he was only an instrument of the private views of a philosopher. Saurin made a journey to Switzerland several years after-

ward, in order to collect some money due to his wife, whom he had persuaded to embrace the Catholic religion at the same time as he did. The magistrates of the place ordered him to be seized as an apostate priest who had made his wife an apostate as well as himself. This happened in 1712, after Rousseau's fatal affair, and Rousseau himself was at Soleure just at that time. It was then that the most disgraceful accusations appeared against Saurin. He was charged with crimes that deserved the halter; there was a letter produced against him, said to have been written by himself many years before, in which he had made a full confession of all his crimes to a minister of his acquaintance. In fine, to crown his shame and to brand him with perpetual ignominy, his adversaries had the mean cruelty to print these accusations, together with this very letter, in several journals in the supplement to Bayle's dictionary, and that of Moréri. This was a new method invented to disgrace a man in the opinion of all Europe. It is a debasement of literature to make a dictionary the register of crimes, and to sully, with the most abusive reflections, works that are designed to be the repositories of science. It was certainly contrary to the original intention of the first authors of these archives of learning, that they should become the propagators of scandal and falsities. The art of writing is in several countries made an infamous traffic, by which booksellers who can scarcely read, pay so much

a sheet for falsities to a set of hireling scribblers, who have made literature the vilest of all professions. I have had an opportunity, by being on the spot, to examine closely into the validity of the accusations published against Joseph Saurin. I have spoken in person to the lord of the manor of Bercher, where Saurin was minister. I have interrogated every member of the family of this gentleman, who, as well as the lord himself, declared to me with one accord, that they had never seen the letter imputed to Saurin, and all joined in expressing the highest indignation at the scandalous abuse inserted in the supplement above mentioned; and this may be sufficient to engage every man of candor and probity to treat the story as it deserves.

Joseph Saurin died in 1737, like an intrepid philosopher, who was perfectly sensible of the nothingness of all worldly matters, and was filled with a just contempt for all the idle prejudices, disputes, and errors, which add fresh weight to the already numberless miseries of human life.

He has left behind him a son of real merit, who is author of a tragedy called "*Spartacus,*" in which there are strokes equal to the master touches of Corneille.

We must not pass over unnoticed the administration of Cardinal Dubois. This man was the son of an apothecary of Brives la Gaillarde, a town in the government of Auvergne. His first rise in life was his being chosen preceptor to the duke of

Orleans, and afterward, by being the complaisant instrument to the pleasures of his pupil, he became his confidant; a middling share of wit, a great stock of libertinism, the most submissive adulation, but chiefly his master's fondness for singularity, gained him an immense fortune. Had this cardinal prime minister been a man of serious character, his sudden rise would have excited indignation, whereas it only caused ridicule and contempt. The duke of Orleans himself made a jest of him, and in this resembled the pope, who made a cardinal of the person who carried about his monkey. Everything was made a subject of laughter and burlesque under the regency of this merry prince; and the same spirit prevailed as in the times of the League, except a civil war; that is to say, this regent revived the true spirit of the French nation, which had been damped by a series of melancholy events in the latter part of the reign of Louis XIV.

Cardinal Dubois died the victim of a long course of debauch. He hit on an expedient to prevent his being fatigued in his last moments by those exercises of devotion for which it is well known he had little regard. He pretended that there was a particular ceremony in regard to cardinals, by which they were excused from receiving the extreme unction and viaticum, like common people. The curate of Versailles thereupon laid an information against his eminence; but Dubois cut short all proceedings by his death, which, agreeably to the

character of our nation, was, like his administration, only made a matter of laughter.

The duke of Orleans now took the title of prime minister upon himself; for the king being of age, his office of regent ceased; but he did not long survive his favorite, the cardinal. He was a prince whose only fault seemed to be an unbounded taste for pleasure and novelty.

Of all the race of Henry IV., Philip of Orleans resembled that monarch the most in his courage, goodness of heart, openness, gayety, affability, and freedom of access, and with an understanding better cultivated.

The duke of Bourbon-Condé succeeded him almost immediately in the ministry, without having recourse to any other intrigues than that of causing the patent to be immediately made out, and waiting upon the king with it to be signed at the time that he acquainted him with the death of the duke of Orleans. But it seems to have been always the fate of the Condé family to be obliged to yield to priests. Henry of Condé had been oppressed by Cardinal Richelieu, the great Condé was imprisoned by Cardinal Mazarin, and the duke of Bourbon was driven into banishment by Cardinal Fleury.

This latter was a native of Languedoc, born without fortune or expectations. He had been almoner to the dauphiness, a princess of the house of Bavaria, and we have a letter written by Madame de Maintenon in 1716, in which she thus expresses

herself: "This is certainly not a person to be so soon made a bishop."

Cardinal de Fleury took the earliest opportunity of resigning his bishopric of Fréjus, after having by his economy saved money enough to pay off a number of debts, and having done a great deal of good by his mild and conciliatory disposition. These were the two prevailing points of his character; he alleged to the people of his diocese as an excuse for quitting them, the bad state of his health, which would not permit him to attend properly to the care of the flock committed to his charge. Luckily for him, however, he never knew a day's illness.

The bishopric of Fréjus, which was situated at a considerable distance from the court, and in a country not the most agreeable, had been always disliked by him: he had taken a distaste to his spiritual spouse; and in a humorous letter which he wrote to Cardinal Quirini, he signed himself, "Fleury, by the Divine displeasure, bishop of Fréjus."

He resigned at the beginning of 1715. The court of Rome, which is always well informed of what passes in other churches, knew that the free and absolute resignation which Fleury had made of his bishopric was made with a view of being made preceptor to the young dauphin, the present king of France. Pope Clement XI., who was very certain of this, declared it openly, and Marshal Villeroi, after many solicitations, prevailed on Louis XIV.

actually to nominate the bishop of Fréjus preceptor to his son, by a codicil to his will. However, let us see how the new preceptor expresses himself on this event in his letter to Cardinal Quirini:

"I have more than once regretted my peaceable solitude of Fréjus. On my arrival here I learned that his late majesty had done me the honor to nominate me preceptor to his grandson; had he been then in a condition to hear me speak, I should have earnestly besought him to ease me of a burden the weight of which makes me tremble; but as he was dead, all I could say made no impression. This has thrown me into a fit of sickness, and nothing can comfort me for the loss of that liberty I had aimed at by my resignation."

But he insensibly found comfort in applying himself to mould the mind of his pupil to business, secrecy, and probity; and preserved in the midst of the hurry and agitation of the court, during the minority, the good graces of the regent and the esteem of the public; he never made a merit of his own services, nor complained of others, and by never engaging in cabals or intrigues of the court, he never subjected himself to the mortification of a denial. He privately endeavored to make himself acquainted with the affairs of the kingdom at home, and its political interests abroad. In a word, the circumspection of his conduct and the amiability of his disposition made all France wish to see him at the head of the administration. He was the

second preceptor who had governed that kingdom, and was satisfied with being absolute in his place, without taking the title of prime minister. He was less thwarted and envied in his ministry than either Richelieu or Mazarin in the most peaceable part of theirs. His exaltation made no change in his manners; and everyone was surprised to find in a prime minister the most engaging, and at the same time the most disinterested courtier. Happily, his spirit of moderation and the interest of the nation were for a long time in accord. France stood in need of that peace of which her minister was so fond, and it was the opinion of all the foreign ministers that it would never be broken so long as he held the reins of government.

Some writers of other countries have confounded this minister with Abbé Fleury, author of "The History of the Church," and some excellent discourses which far exceed that work. This Abbé Fleury was confessor to Louis XIV., he lived unknown in the midst of a court; a man of real modesty. The modesty of the other Fleury was that of an ambitious man of talent.

All was peaceable between the powers of Christendom, if we except the disputes which began to arise about this time between the crowns of Spain and England, concerning the trade to the West Indies. France continued to be considered as the arbiter of Europe.

The emperor made war on the Turks, without consulting the other princes of the empire. This war proved unfortunate, but France saved him from the precipice by its mediation, and M. de Villeneuve, her ambassador at the Ottoman court, went into Hungary in 1739, and there concluded a peace with the Turkish vizier, which proved a very seasonable relief to the emperor.

France almost at the same time compromised matters for the government of Genoa, which was threatened with a civil war, and quelled for a time the rebellious Corsicans, who had thrown off the yoke of that republic. The island of Corsica, which has for a long time taken the title of kingdom, was toward the end of the thirteenth century brought under subjection to Genoa, a country less extensive and less warlike than the other, but superior in riches. The Corsicans, who had always been an undisciplined and restless people, were at this time in open rebellion, having been in arms ever since 1725, on pretence of having been tyrannically treated by their masters. A gentleman of the duchy of Westphalia, in Germany, named Theodore Neuhof, having travelled through all Europe, in hope of making his fortune, happened to be at Leghorn in 1736. Here he entered into a correspondence with the Corsican malcontents, and offered them his services. He made a voyage to Tunis, where he exerted himself so effectually in their behalf, that he returned to Corsica loaded with

arms, ammunition, and money. At his arrival he was proclaimed king of Corsica, and crowned with a wreath of laurel, and acknowledged by all the inhabitants of the island. He put himself at their head, and carried on the war. The senate of Genoa set a price on his head; but not being able either to get Theodore into their hands, or to subdue the rebels, they had applied to the emperor for his protection. But this was thought a dangerous step, inasmuch as the emperor, who regarded himself as lord paramount of all Italy, was hereby made sovereign judge between the state of Genoa and her rebellious subjects. The senate therefore had recourse to France, who successively sent generals and troops over to Corsica, who drove Theodore out of the island, reduced the malcontents to submission, and put everything upon a peaceable footing, at least for some time. King Theodore went to London, where he died in prison, neglected and despised.

While the court of France was thus acting as the benefactress of Genoa and Corsica, she at the same time interposed her good offices between the courts of London and Madrid, who had just begun a war the more ruinous, as the possessions for which they disputed were of little or no advantage to either side. In 1735, the same crown had employed its mediation between those of Spain and Portugal; so that France was generally respected by all her neighbors, none of whom had cause to complain of

her, and was considered by all nations as their common mother and mediatrix.

DEATH OF CHARLES VI.

The emperor Charles VI. died in October, 1740, aged fifty-five years. It is necessary for all crowned heads, whose lives are of so great consequence to the peace and happiness of their people, to know that this monarch caused his own death, by over-eating, at an entertainment — an excess which cost him his life, and brought the empire to the brink of ruin. If the death of Augustus II., king of Poland, was the cause of great commotions, it may readily be imagined that that of Charles VI., who was the last prince of the house of Austria, must have occasioned far greater revolutions. In the first place, Italy had a prospect of acquiring that independence to which she had always aspired. Several petty states, reputed fiefs of the empire, pretended to deny this subjection. Rome in particular, which had been sacked by Charles V., severely treated by his successors, oppressed and obliged to pay a ransom by Joseph, the brother of this Charles VI., now flattered herself with the hope of being forever freed from the pretensions of the German emperors, who have all, since Otho I., imagined themselves successors to the rights of the ancient Cæsars. Agreeably to this, the German chancery to this day looks upon the other kingdoms of Europe as provinces rent

from the empire, and in their protocol they give the title of majesty to no king whatever: the elector of Cologne styles himself chancellor of Italy, and the elector of Trier assumes the title of chancellor of Gaul. The German king, elected at Frankfort, was there declared king of the Romans, though he had not the least jurisdiction in Rome; and as such he exacted a tribute from all the provinces of Italy, wherever he was powerful enough to obtain them. This multiplicity of doubtful rights had, for more than seven hundred years, been the source of all the calamities and oppression that Italy had experienced during that period. Now it appeared highly probable that the troubles into which Germany would be plunged by the sudden death of Charles VI. would restore these people to that liberty which they had so long wished for in vain. The new revolution which everyone foresaw would be the consequence of the extinction of the house of Austria, whenever it should happen, might not only annihilate the rights, and even the name of Roman Empire, but it also appeared a matter of doubt whether Germany might not be divided among several princes, so powerful as, sooner or later, to refuse to acknowledge a supreme head, or, at least, to leave that head but a very small share of the authority of his predecessors.

The inheritance of the house of Austria, therefore, seemed on the point of passing into several hands. This inheritance consisted of Hungary and

Bohemia, kingdoms that, after having been for a long time elective, had been made hereditary by the princes of this house; of Austrian Suabia, called Austria anterior; of Upper and Lower Austria, conquered in the thirteenth century; of Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Flanders, Burgau, the four forest towns, Breisgau, Friuli, Tyrol, the Milanese, Mantua, and the dukedom of Parma; as to the two kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, they were already in the hands of Don Carlos, son of Philip V., king of Spain.

Maria Theresa, the eldest daughter of Charles VI., founded her rights on the natural right of inheritance, solemnly confirmed by the Pragmatic Sanction, and guaranteed by almost all the European powers. On the other hand, Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, demanded the succession, by virtue of the will of Ferdinand I., brother of Charles V.

Augustus III., king of Poland, and elector of Saxony, alleged rights of a more recent nature: the rights of his own wife, eldest daughter of the emperor Joseph, elder brother of the deceased emperor.

The king of Spain extended his pretensions to all the dominions of the house of Austria, deriving his right from a wife of Philip II., daughter of the emperor Maxmilian II., and from whom he — Philip V.— was descended. Here was already a great revolution in the affairs of Europe, when the house of France laid claim to the whole patrimony of

that of Austria. Louis XV. had as just a pretension to this succession as anyone, being descended in a direct line from the eldest male branch of the house of Austria, by the wives of his great-grandfather and grandfather, Louis XIII. and XIV., but it appeared most prudent for him to act the part of umpire and protector, rather than that of a claimant; for he might, by that means, be able to determine this controverted succession, and that of the empire in concert with one-half of Europe; whereas, had he made only pretension to it himself, he was certain to have all Europe against him. This great cause of so many crowned heads was argued before the tribunal of Christendom, in a multitude of public manifestoes and memorials. Princes and private persons alike interested themselves in the dispute, so that a general war was looked on as inevitable; but, to the amazement and confusion of human policy, the storm began from an entirely unsuspected quarter.

A new kingdom had been created at the beginning of the present century. Emperor Leopold, availing himself of a right which the German emperor had always exercised, that of creating kings, had in 1701, erected ducal Prussia into a kingdom, in favor of Frederick William, elector of Brandenburg. Prussia was then no better than a vast desert, but Frederick William II., the second king, whose politics were different from those of all his contemporaries, expended nearly twenty-

five millions of our money in clearing lands, building towns, and peopling them. He summoned many families from Suabia and Franconia to settle there, and also invited more than sixteen thousand persons from Salzburg, whom he supplied with what was necessary for their maintenance, and to set them to work. While he was thus forming a new state, he created for himself, by economy, a power of a new kind: he laid by every month about sixty thousand German crowns, which made an immense treasure in the course of a reign of twenty-eight years. What he did not thus put into his coffers, he made use of to raise an army of nearly eighty thousand chosen men, whom he disciplined himself after a new manner, though he never availed himself of their service. But his son, Frederick III, availed himself of all those preparations of his father. It was well known to all Europe that this prince, who had tasted deeply of adversity, during his father's reign, had employed his leisure hours in cultivating his understanding, and improving the singular gifts he had received from nature. He was universally admired for talents which would have done honor to any private person, but he was not yet known to possess those of the monarch and the soldier; and Austria had no more apprehension of him than it had of the late king, his father, whom he succeeded three months before the imperial succession, and that of the house of Austria became vacant. Frederick foresaw the general confusion which that event

caused, and he did not hesitate an instant to enter sword in hand into Silesia, one of the richest provinces belonging to the daughter of Charles VI. He laid claim to four duchies — in that province — of which his ancestors had formerly been possessed, by purchases and family compacts, and to which they indeed renounced all claim by repeated public acts, as being too weak to support it; he, on the contrary, knowing himself sufficiently powerful, revived those pretensions.

France, Spain, Bavaria, and Saxony had been for some time busied in making a new emperor. Bavaria pressed France to procure for him some share in the Austrian succession. This elector laid claim to all those dominions by his manifestoes, but he did not dare to claim them all by his ministers. In the meantime, Maria Theresa, who had married the grand duke of Tuscany, took possession of all the dominions which had been left her by her father, and received the homage of the Austrian states at Vienna, Nov. 7, 1740. Bohemia and the provinces of Italy swore allegiance to her by their deputies, and she won the affections of all the Hungarians, by taking the ancient coronation oath of King Andrew II., made in 1222, and which was as follows: "If I, or any of my successors in time to come, shall attempt to violate your privileges, it shall be lawful for you and your descendants, in virtue of the promise I now make you, to defend yourselves, without being liable to be treated as rebels."

The aversion which the ancestors of the archduchess had always shown to enter into these engagements with their subjects, and the prudent step she took on this occasion, endeared her infinitely to the Hungarians, insomuch that they who had always been endeavoring to throw off the yoke of the house of Austria, embraced that of Maria Theresa; and, after two hundred years of sedition, quarrels, and civil wars, they suddenly became devoted to a family for which they had formerly expressed so much hatred. The queen was crowned in Presburg June 24, 1741; this was not till some months after her accession: however, she was not the less considered as a sovereign, and she had already established her reign in all hearts, by an affability and popularity which few of her ancestors had ever possessed. She banished from her court that form and restraint which frequently render princes hateful, without ever procuring them more respect. Her aunt, the archduchess, governess of the Low Countries, never suffered any person to eat at table with her; Maria Theresa, on the contrary, admitted to hers all her ladies and officers of distinction: the deputies of the state were permitted to speak to her with freedom; she never refused audience to anyone, and no person ever departed from her presence dissatisfied.

Her first care was to make her consort, the grand duke of Tuscany, the partner of all her dignities and possessions, under the title of co-regent, without

lessening her own sovereignty, or violating the Pragmatic Sanction. She mentioned her intention to the Austrian states the day she received their homage, and soon after put it into execution. She flattered herself, even then, that the dignities with which she adorned her royal consort would soon prepare the way for him to the imperial throne; but she had no money, and her troops were not only greatly diminished, but were scattered in the different parts of her extensive dominions.

The king of Prussia caused a proposal to be made to her, to yield Lower Silesia to him, and, in return, he offered to assist her with his whole interest, with his arms and five millions of our livres, in order to secure to her the possession of all the rest, and to obtain the empire for the grand duke, her consort. Some statesmen of no small abilities thought that the Germanic constitution was now on the point of being overturned; but this princess, in whose veins flowed the blood of a long line of emperors, disdained even the thought of sacrificing any part of her patrimony; and though weak, she was undaunted. Numbers of Austrians, considering only the grandeur of the court of Vienna and not its weakness, declared loudly that the elector of Brandenburg should be put under the ban of the empire. Even the ministers of that monarch were daunted at the sound of the Austrian name; but the king, who saw clearly that it was no more than a name, and that from the state of Europe

at that time he was sure to have allies, entered Silesia at the head of his troops in December, 1740.

At first it was proposed to put the words *"Pro Deo et patria"*—"for God and my country"—on his colors by way of device; but he struck out the first two, saying, that he would not have the name of God blended with the quarrels of men; and that his dispute was about a province, and not concerning religion. He caused the Roman eagle, displayed in relief, to be fixed on the top of a gilded staff, and to be carried before his own regiment of guards. This air of novelty laid him under a kind of necessity of being invincible. He also exhorted his soldiers to resemble in every respect the ancient Romans. As soon as he entered Silesia, he made himself master of almost all that province of which they had refused him a part; but henceforth things remained in an uncertain state.

General Neipperg marched to the relief of the invaded province with an army of twenty-four thousand Austrians, and obliged the king of Prussia to come to an engagement at Mollwitz, near the River Neisse. There it was that the Prussian infantry showed what it could do; the king's cavalry, less strong by half than that of the Austrians, was entirely broken; the first line of the infantry was taken in flank; the battle was given up for lost, all the king's baggage was pillaged, and he himself was in danger of being taken, was carried away by the crowd that surrounded him: but his

second line of infantry retrieved the fortune of the day, by that unshaken discipline to which they were so well accustomed, by their constant fire — which they repeat at least five times in a minute — and by charging their muskets with their iron ramrods in a moment. In a word, they gained the victory, and this event became the signal of an universal flame.

THE VICTORIES AND DEFEATS OF CHARLES ALBERT OF BAVARIA.

At the time that the king of Prussia seized Silesia, all Europe imagined him in alliance with France; but in this they were mistaken, as is frequently the case with those who argue only from appearances. It is certain that by this step the king of Prussia hazarded a great deal, as he himself has acknowledged; but then he foresaw that France would not let slip so fair an opportunity of seconding him. It was to the interest of that crown to favor her old ally, the elector of Bavaria, whose father had lost his all in fighting her cause, after the battle of Höchstädt. This very Charles Albert, the elector of Bavaria, had also been made prisoner by the Austrians, when a child, and his very title of Bavaria taken from him. France now found it to her interest to avenge him. It seemed no difficult matter to procure him at once the empire, and a part of the Austrian succession. By this step of the new house of Lorraine, Austria would be deprived

of that superiority which the old one had affected to have over the other princes of Europe; and moreover, it should abolish the old rivalry existing between the dependents of Bourbon and Austria, which would be effecting more than Henry IV. and Cardinal Richelieu had ever hoped to compass.

The king of Prussia foresaw this revolution even before it was begun, at the time that he set out for Silesia; and it is so true that he had not concerted any measures with Cardinal Fleury, that the marquis of Beauvau, who had been sent to Berlin, to compliment the new king on his accession, knew not on the first movement of the Prussian troops whether they were destined against France or Austria. King Frederick said to him, as he was going to set out: "I believe I am going to play your game; if I throw aces, we'll share the winnings."

This was the sole beginning of a negotiation then at a distance. The French ministry were for some time in dispute which side to take. Fleury, then in his eighty-fifth year, was not for staking his reputation, his old age, and his country, on the hazard of a new war. The Pragmatic Sanction signed, and authentically guaranteed, was a curb on him; but then, on the other hand, former treaties made with the house of Bavaria offered him encouragement. It is certain that this war was loudly demanded by court and city, notwithstanding that they afterward joined in condemning it. I heard a man of great distinction say: "Cardinal Richelieu pulled

down the house of Austria, and Cardinal Fleury will, if he can, erect a new one." These words, which came to the minister's ears, piqued him sensibly, but did not make him change his opinion.

It was the count, afterward marshal, duke of Belle-Isle, and his brother, nephew of the famous Fouquet, who, without having any share in public affairs, or as yet any access to the king, nor any power with the cardinal, brought him to a resolution.

Marshal Belle-Isle, though he had not done anything extraordinary, had a great reputation; and though he had been neither a minister nor a general, was thought better qualified than anyone to conduct either the army or the state; he saw things from all points of view, and was the only courtier perfectly acquainted with the interior springs of government, and almost the only officer who kept up military discipline. He was naturally fond of glory and of business, without which there can be no true glory; he was exact and indefatigable, and had a taste for the business of negotiation and for that of the cabinet and the field; but a very bad state of health frequently destroyed the fruits of these great talents. Always in action, and always full of projects, the strength of his body was not sufficient to support the efforts of his mind. He was alike admired for his politeness as a courtier, and for his honest frankness as a soldier. He found means to persuade, without the gift of eloquence, by always

appearing to be persuaded himself. He wrote in a plain style; and to read his despatches one would not suppose him to be possessed of such strong and active ideas.

Chevalier de Belle-Isle, his brother, had the same ambition and the same views, but somewhat deeper; this was the result of a hale constitution, which enabled him to support the greatest fatigues of business. His air was more gloomy than that of his brother, and not so engaging; but he subdued those hearts into which his brother had insinuated himself. His eloquence was like his courage, and under an appearance of reserve and deep thoughtfulness one might perceive something very powerful; in a word, he was capable of planning, undertaking, and executing anything.

These two men, not more united by the ties of blood than by a parity of ideas, undertook to change the face of all Europe. The cardinal opposed their plan of operations: he even delivered his opinion against it to the king in writing; and now, if he had been desirous to end his career in a truly glorious manner, he should have retired from business; but he had not resolution enough to quit the ministry, and to live retired, though on the very brink of the grave: in a word, the marshal and his brother had the management of all the necessary dispositions, and the old cardinal seemed to preside at the head of an undertaking which he disapproved.

Everything in the beginning seemed to favor the scheme: Marshal Belle-Isle was sent to the king of Prussia, then in his camp at Frankfort, and from there to Dresden, to settle the vast projects which the concurrence of so many princes seemed to render infallible. He in everything agreed with the king of Prussia, who promised, by a written agreement, not to make peace without the knowledge of his allies. Belle-Isle went into Saxony, where he gained such an ascendency over the minds of that court that they promised him, as he himself has told me, to march a body of troops even before the signing of the treaty. The marshal also negotiated in all the courts of Germany, and was the life and soul of that body which was to procure the empire, and the hereditary crowns of the house of Austria, for a prince who could do nothing for himself. France furnished the elector of Bavaria at one and the same time with money, allies, votes, and arms; he had promised twenty thousand of his own troops, but could hardly raise twelve thousand, though assisted with French money. The king sent him the army he had promised him, and, at the same time, by letters patent, created him his lieutenant-general, whom he was about to make emperor of Germany.

The elector of Bavaria, thus strengthened, easily penetrated into Austria, while Maria Theresa could, with difficulty, make head against the king of Prussia. He soon made himself master of Passau, an

imperial city, governed by its bishop, and on the boundary between Upper Austria and Bavaria. He advanced as far as Linz, the capital of Upper Austria, and some of his troops skirmished within three leagues of Vienna. The alarm was now spread, the whole city was in confusion, and was prepared for a siege with all expedition; one whole suburb, and a palace adjacent to the fortifications, were entirely destroyed. The Danube was covered with vessels transporting the most valuable effects of the inhabitants to places of greater security. The elector of Bavaria even sent a summons to Count Kevenhuller, governor of Vienna.

England and Holland were at that time far from holding in their hands that balance to which they had long pretended. The States-General kept a profound silence on seeing Marshal Maillebois' army, which was then in Westphalia; and this same army overawed the king of England, who trembled for the safety of his Hanoverian dominions, where he then resided. He had raised twenty-five thousand men to succor Maria Theresa, and at the head of this very army he was obliged to abandon her and sign a neutrality. His domestics were furnished with passports for their persons and baggage by the French general, to carry them to London, and the king himself returned by the way of Westphalia and Holland.

At that time there was not one prince, either within or without the empire, who supported that

Pragmatic Sanction which so many of them had guaranteed. Vienna, weakly fortified on the side on which it was threatened, could not have held out long. Those who were best acquainted with Germany and the state of public affairs looked upon that city as already taken, by means of which the assistance Maria Theresa might otherwise have drawn from the Hungarians would be cut off, her dominions laid entirely open to the arms of the conqueror, all claims settled, and peace restored to the empire and to Europe. And even Cardinal de Fleury was so much encouraged by those favorable dispositions in a project to which he had in the beginning so great a repugnance, that he said to some officers who waited on him late to take leave: "Gentlemen, this will not be a long business, and I hope to see you again very soon."

The courage and resolution of Maria Theresa seemed to increase with the difficulties she had to surmount; she had quitted Vienna to throw herself into the arms of the Hungarians, whom her father and ancestors had treated with so much severity. Having assembled the four orders of the state at Presburg, she appeared in the midst of them, holding in her arms her eldest son, then an infant in his cradle, and addressing herself to them in Latin, which tongue she spoke perfectly, she expressed herself nearly in these words: "Forsaken by my friends, persecuted by my enemies, and attacked by my nearest relative, I have no other resource but

your fidelity, your courage, and my own constancy: to your care I surrender the daughter and son of your kings, who from you expect their safety." All the palatines, softened and animated by this short speech, drew their sabres, crying out with one voice: "Let us die for our king, Maria Theresa"; for it is to be observed they always give the title of king to their queens; and never, in fact, did princes better deserve that title. They shed tears in taking the oath to defend her, her eyes alone were dry; but when she withdrew with her maids of honor, the tears which the greatness of her soul had hitherto suppressed burst forth in abundance. She was at this time *enceinte,* and had written, not long before, to her mother-in-law, the duchess of Lorraine, these words: "I, as yet, know not whether I shall have a single town left wherein to be brought to bed."

In this condition she excited the zeal of the Hungarians. England and Holland roused in her behalf, and supplied her with money; she corresponded with all the states of the empire; negotiated with the king of Sardinia, while her provinces furnished her with soldiers.

The whole kingdom of England took part in her distresses. The English are not a people who wait to know their sovereign's opinion before they give theirs. Some private persons proposed a gift for this princess. The duchess of Marlborough, whose husband had fought for Charles VI., assembled the

principal ladies of London, whom she induced to advance, for this cause, a hundred thousand pounds sterling, herself subscribing forty thousand of the sum. The queen of Hungary had the greatness of soul to decline the offer of this money, which was so generously made, resolving to wait for such sums as should be granted by the nation in parliament assembled.

It was generally believed that the victorious armies of France and Bavaria would have marched to the siege of Vienna; what the enemy fears should be always carried into execution. This was one of those decisive strokes, one of those lucky opportunities, which fortune presents once, and if neglected, are never to be recovered afterward. The elector of Bavaria had entertained thoughts of taking Vienna; but he had made no preparations for the siege, and had neither artillery nor ammunition. Cardinal Fleury had not extended his views so far as to put that capital into the elector's hands; he generally confined himself to projects of a moderate nature; he was for dividing the spoils before he had them, and did not intend that the emperor of his making should enjoy the whole succession.

The French army commanded by the elector of Bavaria, and reinforced with twenty thousand Saxons, marched toward Prague in November, 1741. Count Maurice of Saxony, natural brother of the king of Poland, took the place by escalade. This general, who inherited from his father his very

extraordinary bodily strength, as well as his real worth and sweetness of temper, was moreover endowed with the greatest talents for war. His great reputation induced the people of Courland to elect him their duke; but Rissio, having wrested from him what he received from the unanimous suffrages of a whole people, he consoled himself in the service of France and the social pleasures of a nation which was not as yet sufficiently acquainted with his merit.

It was necessary that Prague should be taken in a few days, or the enterprise abandoned. They were in want of provisions, the season was far advanced, and the town, though poorly fortified, could easily resist the first attack. General Ogilvie, an Irishman by birth, commanded in the place with a garrison of three thousand men, and the grand duke was in full march with an army of thirty thousand to its relief, and on November 25, was actually within five leagues of it, when that very night the French and Saxons made an assault on the town.

They made two attacks under cover of a desperate fire from their artillery, which drew the attention of the whole garrison to that side. In the meantime, Count Saxe silently had a single ladder fixed to the rampart of the New Town, in a part very distant from that where the assault was given. It happened that the ladder was not long enough, which obliged them to make up the deficiency by hand-barrows. M. de Chevert, at that time lieutenant-

colonel of the regiment of Beausse, was the first man that mounted. He was followed by Marshal Broglie's eldest son. They reach the rampart, and find only one sentinel at some distance. They are soon followed by others, and made themselves masters of the place. The whole garrison laid down their arms, and General Ogilvie, with his three thousand men, surrendered, prisoners of war. Count Saxe saved the town from being pillaged, and, what was very extraordinary, the conquerors and the conquered were mixed pellmell for three days; French, Saxons, Bavarians, and Bohemians walked the streets in common, without distinction, and without shedding a drop of blood. Thus Prague was taken by escalade.

The elector of Bavaria, who had just arrived at the camp, transmitted an account of this success to the king, in such terms as a general would use to the prince whose armies he commanded. He made his public entry into the capital of Bohemia the same day on which it was taken, and was crowned in the month of December. In the meantime, the grand duke, finding he had not been able to save the town, and that subsistence failed in the quarters which he occupied, retired to the southern part of the province, and left the command of the army to his brother, Prince Charles of Lorraine.

During these transactions the king of Prussia made himself master of Moravia, a province that lies between Bohemia and Silesia; so that Maria

Theresa seemed overpowered on all sides. Her competitor had been crowned archduke of Austria at Linz; he had been lately crowned king of Bohemia at Prague, from whence he went to Frankfort to receive the imperial diadem, under the name of Charles VII. All the electors had suspended the vote of Bohemia, while that province remained in the possession of the queen of Hungary, on pretext that a woman had no right of suffrage. The elector of Bavaria, now master of Prague, might at the instant of her election have made use of the vote of Bohemia in his own favor; but, as he had no need of it, he suffered it to lie dormant.

Marshal Belle-Isle, who had followed him from Prague to Frankfort, appeared rather as one of the principal electors than as the ambassador of France. He managed all the votes, and directed all the negotiations; he received all the honors due to the representative of a king who bestowed the imperial crown. The elector of Mentz, who is president of the election, gave him the right hand in his own palace, and the ambassador, on the contrary, gave the right hand in his own house to electors only, taking place of all other princes. His instructions as plenipotentiary were delivered to the German chancery in French, although that court had formerly required all such papers to be presented in the Latin tongue, as being the proper language of a government which assumes the title and denomination of the Roman Empire.

Charles Albert was elected in the most tranquil and solemn manner on Jan. 4, 1742. He now appeared covered with glory, and at the summit of happiness; but fortune soon assumed a different aspect, and his very elevation rendered him one of the most unfortunate princes on earth.

The fault that had been committed in not providing a sufficient number of cavalry began now to be felt. Marshal Belle-Isle was sick at Frankfort, and besides he could not at one and the same time conduct negotiation, and command an army at a distance. Misunderstandings began to arise among the allies, the Saxons complained greatly of the Prussians, these of France, and these latter cried out likewise in their turn.

Maria Theresa was suported by her own magnanimity, and by the money of England, Holland, and Venice, by loans on Flanders, but above all, by the desperate ardor of her troops, which she assembled from all quarters. The French army was depleted by fatigue, sickness, and desertions; their leaders had but little credit, and recruits were difficult to secure. The French did not find the same fortune as Gustavus Adolphus, who opened his campaign in Germany with less than ten thousand men, yet in a short time found his forces increased to thirty thousand, augmenting them in proportion as he advanced.

The French army, which on its entering Bohemia should have amounted to forty-five thousand men,

consisted on its leaving France of no more than thirty-two thousand, and in this number there was but eight thousand horse. Every day then weakened the victorious French, and added new strength to the Austrians. Prince Charles of Lorraine, brother of the Grand Duke, was in the heart of Bohemia, at the head of thirty-five thousand effective men. The country was in his interest, and he began a defensive war very successfully, by keeping the enemy in continual alarms, cutting off their convoys, and harassing them perpetually on all sides by swarms of hussars, Croats, pandours, and talpaches.

The pandours are Slavonians, inhabiting the banks of the Drave, and the Save; they wear long cloaks, and in their girdles they carry pistols, a sabre, and a poniard.

The talpaches are Hungarian infantry; they go armed with a musket, two pistols, and a sabre.

The Croats, called in France *cravates,* are natives of Croatia.

The hussars are Hungarian cavalry, mounted upon small horses, which are extremely swift and hardy. These fall on and cut off advanced posts that are weak and are not properly supported with cavalry, which was everywhere the case of the French and Bavarian troops.

The elector of Bavaria thought a small number of troops should be sufficient to secure a vast extent of country, which it was imagined the queen of

Hungary was in no condition to retake; but herein he was deceived. Everything was retaken, and the seat of war was at length transported from the Danube to the Rhine.

Cardinal Fleury, on seeing all his hopes disconcerted, and so fair a beginning succeeded by such a train of disasters, wrote a letter to General Königseck, which was delivered to him by Marshal Belle-Isle. In this letter the cardinal excuses himself on the score of the war, which, he says, was undertaken against his consent; and acknowledges that he had been hurried out of his own measures: "Many people know how strenuously I opposed the resolutions which have been taken; and that I was, in a manner, compelled to acquiesce in them. Your excellency is too well acquainted with all that passed not to guess the person who left nothing undone to determine the king to enter a league so contrary to my liking and my principles."

The only answer the queen of Hungary made was by causing the cardinal's letter to be printed. It was easy to foresee the ill effects this letter must have produced. In the first place the whole blame of the war was thrown on the very general who was commissioned to negotiate with Count Königseck; and to render his person odious was not the way to make his negotiations successful. Secondly, this letter plainly acknowledged a weakness in the ministry; and he must have had a very slender knowledge of mankind who could not foresee that

advantage would be taken of this weakness, that the allies of France would grow cool, and her enemies gather more courage.

The cardinal, finding his letter made public, wrote a second, in which he complains to the Austrian general, and says that he shall not hereafter write his mind so freely to him. This second letter did him more harm than the first. Indeed, he disavowed them both in the public papers; and this disavowal, of which no one was the dupe, crowned all those imprudent proceedings that milder judges excused in an old man of eighty-seven, worn out with a series of ill successes. At length, the emperor offered proposals for a peace to the court of London, and particularly to secularize the two bishoprics in dispute in favor of Hanover; but the English ministry, not thinking the emperor's interposition in the least necessary toward obtaining these bishoprics, insulted his proposals by making them public, and the emperor found himself reduced to the necessity of disavowing his offers of peace, as Cardinal Fleury had disowned the war.

The dispute now became warmer than ever; France on the one hand, and England on the other, under the name of auxiliaries, though principals in fact, strove to grasp the balance of Europe, sword in hand. Holland at length declared in favor of Maria Theresa. Germany, Flanders, and Italy were alternately the theatre of war, as happened in 1701; and the house of Bourbon was, for the

second time, obliged to support a war against almost all the powers of Europe.

THE WAR BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

Europe, in general, never beheld such glorious days as from the conclusion of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, to the beginning of 1756. Trade flourished from St. Petersburg to Cadiz, the fine arts were everywhere cherished, and a mutual intercourse existed between all nations; so that Europe resembled a large family reconciled, after having been long at variance. The new misfortunes which were about to befall this part of the world, seemed foretold by the dreadful earthquakes which were felt in many of its provinces, but more terribly in Lisbon than elsewhere. The greater part of that capital was thrown to the ground, and upward of thirty thousand of its inhabitants were buried in the ruins. This fearful scourge extended itself to Spain; the little town of Setubal — commonly called St. Ubes — was almost wholly destroyed, and others were considerably damaged. The sea, making a breach over the walls of Cadiz, carried away everything it met in its passage. These shocks were not confined to Europe alone, the continent of Africa had it share of desolation; and the same day that the misfortune befell Lisbon a whole nation of Arabs in the neighborhood of Morocco were swallowed up by the opening of the earth, and the cities

of Fez and Mekinez were even greater sufferers than Lisbon.

This dire disaster should have made mankind look into themselves and consider that, as the common victims of fate, they should comfort instead of oppress one another. The Portuguese imagined they should deprecate the wrath of Heaven by burning the Jews and others of their fellow creatures at an *auto da fé,* or "act of faith," as it is called, which other nations look on as an act of inhumanity, and even at that time the other powers of Europe were preparing to stain with blood the earth that as yet trembled under their feet.

The first fatal catastrophe happened in Sweden; that kingdom had been changed to a republic, in which the sovereign was no more than the principal magistrate. He was obliged to comply with the majority of votes in the senate; the states, which were composed of the nobles, the burghers, the clergy, and the peasants, had the power of altering the laws of the senate, but the king could not.

Certain of the nobles, more attached to the person of their prince than to the new laws of the country, entered into a conspiracy against the senate in his favor; the plot was discovered, and the conspirators were punished with death. And what in a government purely monarchical would have passed for a virtuous and meritorious deed was deemed an infamous and treasonable act in a country now free.

Thus the same actions are virtuous or criminal, according to times and places.

This affair alienated the minds of the Swedes from their king, and was partly the occasion of their declaring war against Frederick, king of Prussia, whose sister had been married to the king of Sweden.

The revolutions which the king of Prussia and his enemies were preparing at that time were like a flame smothering beneath the embers, that soon afterward burst forth with fury to the desolation of Europe; but the first sparks came from America.

THE WAR IN GERMANY.

Louis XIV. has been admired for making progress alone against Germany, England, Italy, and Holland, joined in league against him. We have seen an event still more extraordinary; an elector of Brandenburg, who alone has stood against the united forces of the houses of Austria and Bourbon, Russia, Sweden, and one-half of the empire.

This is a prodigy which can only be attributed to the excellent discipline of his troops, and the superior genius of their leader. Chance may decide the fate of one battle; but when we see the weaker party resisting those so much superior to him for the space of seven years together, in a country altogether open, we can no longer suppose this to be the work of fortune; and, in this respect, the present

war differs from all those which have hitherto ravaged the face of the earth.

We have already taken notice that the second king of Prussia, who was the only sovereign of Europe possessed of a treasure, and who had brought his troops to a good discipline, established a new kind of power in Germany. We have seen also how the preparations made by the father emboldened the son alone to brave the Austrian power, and seize Silesia.

The empress-queen was waiting with patience for a favorable opportunity to repossess herself of that province. It would formerly have been a matter of indifference to the other powers of Europe whether a petty country annexed to Bohemia belonged to one house or to another; but politics, like the other ideas of the human mind, having been refined rather than improved of late, this trifling dispute has put arms into the hands of more than half a million men. There never had been so great a number of effective fighting men, either in the Crusades, or in the irruptions of the conquerors of Asia. The following is the manner in which this great scene opened.

Elizabeth, empress of Russia, was closely allied with the empress-queen, Maria Theresa, by ancient treaties, by their common interest, which united them against the Ottoman empire, and by a mutual inclination. Augustus III., king of Poland, and elector of Saxony, who had been reconciled to the

empress-queen, and was naturally attached to Russia, to whom he was indebted for his title of king of Poland, was intimately connected with both princesses. These three powers had each their subjects of complaint against Frederick, king of Prussia. Maria Theresa saw Silesia rent from her patrimony. Augustus and his council wanted reparation for the ravages committed in Saxony, by the king of Prussia, in the war of 1740, and there were some complaints of a personal nature between that monarch and the empress Elizabeth.

These three powers, all equally exasperated against the king of Prussia, entered into the most intimate correspondence, the effects of which were greatly feared by that prince. Austria was augmenting her forces, those of Elizabeth were ready; but the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, was not in a condition to undertake anything; his electoral finances were exhausted, and he had no place of any strength to stop the Prussians from marching to Dresden. And as order and economy had rendered Brandenburg a formidable state, so dissipation and neglect had enfeebled Saxony; and the Saxon council were not easily persuaded to enter into any measures that might prove of fatal consequence to the state.

The king of Prussia, without any hesitation, and without consulting anyone, resolved, in 1755, to be beforehand with those powers whose proceedings had given him so much umbrage. He began by

FREDERICK WILLIAM I.

making an alliance with the king of England, elector of Hanover; he secured the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and the house of Brunswick; and thus gave up his alliance with France.

It was at this period, as we have elsewhere observed, that the ancient feuds between the houses of Bourbon and Austria, which had subsisted ever since the time of the emperor Charles V., and Francis I., of France, gave place to a reconciliation and friendly union, which appeared sincere and permanent, and which greatly surprised all Europe. This union was, by the English parliament, called an unnatural alliance; but when the English wanted to reign masters, it was a very natural one, and in no way contravened the Peace of Westphalia. It appeared highly probable that these two powerful houses, thus united and seconded by Russia, Sweden, and several of the German powers, might keep the rest of Europe in awe.

The treaty was signed at Versailles, between Louis XV. and Maria Theresa. Abbé de Bernis, afterward cardinal, had the sole honor of bringing about this famous treaty, which overturned all the edifice of Cardinal Richelieu, and, in all appearance, erected another, more noble and extensive, on its ruins. De Bernis was soon afterward made minister of state, and almost as soon disgraced.

This step only served to make the king of Prussia more alert to take the field. He marched his troops into Saxony, which was in a manner defence-

less, designing to make this province a kind of rampart against the Austrian power, and a means of attacking her more effectually. He immediately made himself master of Leipsic, and a part of his army appeared before the gates of Dresden. King Augustus thereupon retired, as his father had done before the victorious Charles XII. He quitted his capital, and went to his camp at Pirna, in the neighborhood of Königstein, on the road to Bohemia, and on the banks of the Elbe, where he thought himself in safety.

Frederick then entered Dresden as a master, though under the name of a protector. The queen of Poland, daughter of the emperor Joseph, had refused to join her consort in his flight, and remained in the city. They demanded of her the keys of the public archives; and on her refusing to deliver them up, prepared to break open the doors. The queen then placed herself in their way, hoping that they would respect her person and courage; but, without regarding either, they forcibly opened in her sight the sacred deposits of the state. It was especially necessary for the king of Prussia to get into his hands authentic proofs of the designs of the elector of Saxony against him. He succeeded, and found sufficient testimonies of the apprehensions they had of him; and yet these very apprehensions, which should have induced the court of Dresden to put itself in a posture of defence, only served to make it the victim of a power-

ful neighbor; and it was perceived too late that Saxony, considering the situation in which it had been for such a number of years, should have given all its attention to warlike concerns, instead of pleasure. There are certain situations, in which the only alternative left is to prepare for resistance, to conquer or to perish.

On the first news of this invasion the aulic council of the empire declared the king of Prussia a disturber of the public peace, and a rebel; but it was not easy to give this denunciation any weight against a prince who had a hundred and fifty thousand fighting men under his command. He answered their edicts by giving battle to the Austrian army.

This first battle was not decisive, as to the numbers slain on either side; but it proved so with respect to its consequences. The king, in spite of the utmost efforts of the Austrians, blocked up the Saxons in their camp at Pirna; and the king of Poland's little army, consisting of only about thirteen or fourteen thousand men, surrendered prisoners of war in a week after the battle.

Augustus, in this very extraordinary capitulation, which was the only military event that happened between him and the king of Prussia, only requested that his own regiment of guards might not be made prisoners; but he was answered by Frederick that he could not grant that request, for he was very certain these guards would serve against him, and he did not choose to be at the trouble of taking them

twice. This reply was a terrible lesson to all princes to make themselves powerful, when they have powerful neighbors.

The king of Poland, having thus lost his electorate and his army, was forced to apply to his enemy for passports to carry him into Poland, which were very readily granted; and they had moreover the insulting politeness to furnish him with post-horses. He went then from his hereditary into his elective dominions, where he found not a single person willing to take up arms to support his sovereign. The whole electorate of Saxony was put under contribution, and the king of Prussia found sufficient supplies in the countries he had invaded to defray the expenses of carrying on the war. The queen of Poland, who had not followed her husband, remained behind in Dresden, where she died of grief a short time afterward. All Europe pitied the sufferings of this distressed family; but in the course of these calamities there were a thousand other families that experienced as great sufferings, though not of so public a nature. The civil magistrates of Leipsic made remonstrances against the contributions which the victor had imposed on them, and which they declared themselves utterly incapable of raising: they were answered by being thrown into prison, and they paid the sums demanded.

Never have so many battles been fought as during the course of this war. The Russians entered

the Prussian territories by way of Poland. The French, now auxiliaries to the queen of Hungary, fought for the recovery of Silesia; a country which a few years before they had assisted to take from her, when allies of the king of Prussia. The king of England, who had formerly shown himself the most zealous supporter of the house of Austria, was now its most formidable enemy. Sweden, which, in the preceding war, had struck at the very existence of that house, now sent its forces to serve in its armies against the king of Prussia, for a subsidy of nine hundred thousand francs. These troops were guilty of the least ravages of any.

Germany now beheld itself torn to pieces by many more national troops than in the famous thirty years' war.

While the Prussians were marching through Poland to the assistance of the empress-queen, the French entered Germany by the duchy of Cleves, and by Wesel, which had been abandoned by the Prussians, and they took all the country of Hesse; they then marched toward the electorate of Hanover, in order to give battle to an army of English, Hanoverians, and Hessians, commanded by the same duke of Cumberland who had attacked Louis XV. at Fontenoy.

The king of Prussia went in search of the Austrian army in Bohemia, and at the same time left a considerable body of troops to oppose the Russians. The troops of the empire, called the army of exe-

cution, were ordered to penetrate into Saxony, now entirely in the possession of the Prussians. Thus Germany was at once a prey to six formidable armies, that devoured her very vitals.

The king of Prussia marched immediately to attack Prince Charles of Lorraine, the emperor's brother, and General Brown, near Prague. The battle was bloody; but the Prussian army proved victorious, and obliged part of the Austrian infantry to take shelter in the city of Prague, in which they were blocked by the victorious troops for above two months. There were a great number of princes in the town. Provisions began to grow scarce, and it was generally believed that Prague would fall a sacrifice, and that the house of Austria would suffer more from Frederick than it had done from Gustavus Adolphus.

But the conqueror lost all the fruits of his success by grasping at everything at once. Count Kaunitz, prime minister of the empress-queen, a man as active in the cabinet as the king of Prussia was in the field, had already assembled an army under the command of Marshal Daun. The king of Prussia did not hesitate an instant to attack this army, trusting that the reputation of his late victories would strike terror into the enemy's troops. This army once dispersed, Prague must necessarily capitulate after a short bombardment, and he was then absolute master of Germany. Marshal Daun had intrenched his army on the brow of a hill. The

Prussians attacked the trenches seven different times, with incredible fury, and were as often repulsed. Frederick lost nearly twenty-five thousand men, killed and wounded, runaways and deserters. Prince Charles of Lorraine, who was shut up in Prague, made a sally, and pursued the Prussians. The change in the face of things was now as great as the king of Prussia's hopes and exploits had been before this event.

The French, on their side, powerfully supported Maria Theresa. Marshal d'Estrées, who commanded their army, had already passed the Weser, and followed close upon the duke of Cumberland, who was marching toward Minden; he came up with that general at Hastenbeck, gave him battle, and gained a complete victory. The princes of Condé and Conti gave the first proofs of their military talents in this battle, and the blood-royal of France disputed the honor of the field with that of England. And here let us observe that, by some intrigues at court, Marshal d'Estrées had been removed from the command of the army, and the orders were already gone forth to put this affront upon him when he gained this victory. The courtiers pretended to find fault with him for not having conquered the whole electorate of Hanover, and not having marched as far as Magdeburg. They thought that everything was to be terminated in a single campaign. Such was the confidence of the French court, in 1741, when, after having made an

emperor, it thought to dispose of all the dominions of the house of Austria; and in the beginning of the age of Louis XIV., when that monarch and Philip V. of Spain, having made themselves masters of Italy and Flanders, and being seconded by two electors, thought to give laws to all Europe, and found themselves miserably deceived.

The French ministry had despatched Marshal Richelieu to take the command of the army from d'Estrées, before it was acquainted with the important victory that general had gained. Marshal Richelieu, remarkable for the charms of his person and understanding, and famous by the defence of Genoa and the taking of Minorca, marched to give the duke of Cumberland battle, and obliged him to retreat before him as far as the mouth of the Elbe, where he compelled him to capitulate with his whole army. This capitulation was more singular and glorious than the most complete victory would have been. By the articles of the convention, the duke of Cumberland obliged himself to retire beyond the Elbe, and to leave the country open to the operations of the French against the king of Prussia.

The ruin of that monarch now seemed inevitable. The severe defeat he had met with before Prague, another which his troops had suffered near Landshut, on the confines of Silesia, and lately a battle, which he had hazarded with the Russians, and in which neither side had the victory, had weakened him almost beyond possibility of recovery.

He was in danger of being hemmed in on one side by the army under Marshal Richelieu, and by that of the empire on the other, while the Austrians and Russians were marching into the heart of Silesia. His destruction now seemed so certain that the aulic council no longer kept any measures, but openly declared him to have incurred the ban of the empire, and to have forfeited all his fiefs, rights, privileges, immunities, etc. Nay, he himself seemed to think his situation altogether desperate, and that nothing was left him but a glorious death. On this occasion, he made a kind of philosophical testament; and so little was his mind affected by this series of misfortunes that he wrote it in French verse. I am persuaded this anecdote is altogether new, and singular in its kind.

The prince of Soubise, a general of intrepid courage, great prudence, and regularity of conduct, marched to give him battle in Saxony, at the head of a strong army, which the ministry had further reinforced by a part of that under Marshal Richelieu. This army was joined by that of the circles, commanded by the prince of Hildburghausen.

Frederick, thus surrounded on all sides by enemies, advanced with a resolution to sell his life dear, and perish in the midst of Soubise's ranks; while he took all the precautions to gain the victory. He went to reconnoitre the joint armies, and then made a retreat in order to secure an advantageous position for his own. The prince of Hildburghausen

was for attacking him without delay. This resolution was necessarily followed by the French, who acted only as auxiliaries; and they advanced into the neighborhood of Rossbach and Merseburg, and marched toward the Prussians, who were concealed under their tents; when, suddenly, the tents were struck, and the whole Prussian army was seen advancing in order of battle between two hills lined with artillery.

At this unexpected sight the French and imperial troops were struck with astonishment. The French soldiery had for some years been taught the Prussian drill, which had been afterward altered in several of its evolutions, so that the men no longer knew what they were at; their former way of fighting was a hazard, and they were not sufficiently masters of the new method. When they saw the Prussians advancing toward them in this extraordinary formation, which was utterly unknown to all other nations, they thought they beheld their masters. The Prussian artillery was likewise much better served than that of the combined army. The imperial troops gave way almost at the first onset. The French cavalry line was broken by the Prussian cannon; a general panic prevailed; the whole body of French infantry retreated before six battalions of the enemy; in short, it could not be called a battle, but a powerful army had presented itself in battle array, and then ran. The event of the next day is unparalleled in history, only two regiments

of Swiss remained on the field of battle. The prince of Soubise rode up to them, and putting himself at their head, made them file off by slow degrees. This extraordinary day's work once more changed the face of affairs.

At this very time fresh disasters befell the army under Marshal Richelieu, which had been greatly weakened by the drafts the ministry had made from it. The court of France refused to ratify the convention which the marshal had made with the duke of Cumberland. The English court, not unjustly, thought themselves released from their engagements. The ratification, afterward signed at Versailles, did not arrive till five days after the misfortune at Rossbach, and the English in a short time retook the whole electorate of Hanover.

Extraordinary and unprecedented as was the affair of Rossbach, it was not more so than what was done by the king of Prussia after that unexpected victory. He hastened into Silesia, where his troops had been beaten by the Austrians, who had made themselves masters of Schweidnitz and Breslau. But for this great diligence of his, Silesia had been wholly lost, and the battle of Rossbach would have been of no advantage to him.

In about a month's time he came up with the Austrian army, which he immediately attacked with the greatest fury. The engagement lasted more than five hours, when victory declared wholly in favor of Frederick, who immediately took possession of

Schweidnitz and Breslau. After this there followed a continual series of battles, lost and won. The French were, for the most part, always unfortunate; but their court was not in the least discouraged; on the contrary, it exerted itself to the utmost to send fresh supplies of troops into Germany.

The king of Prussia, on his side, was weakened by the numerous battles he fought; insomuch that the Russians took from him the whole kingdom of Prussia, and laid waste all Pomerania, while he was ravaging Saxony. The Austrians and Russians successively entered Berlin. Almost all the treasure his father and himself had amassed was necessarily spent in this war, alike ruinous to all parties; and he was obliged to have recourse to the English for subsidies. The Austrians, French, and Russians, without being discouraged by their failures, followed him wherever he went. His family dared not to remain in Berlin, which was continually exposed to the insults of the enemy; and as to himself, after a series of fortunate events, he was, in 1762, intrenched under the cannon of Breslau. Maria Theresa seemed on the eve of recovering all Silesia; Frederick had lost Dresden, and all that part of Saxony which borders upon Bohemia; the king of Poland flattered himself with the hope of recovering his hereditary dominions, when the death of Elizabeth, empress of Russia, gave a new turn to the face of affairs, which had already undergone so many changes.

The new emperor, Peter III., had for some time been secretly a friend to the king of Prussia. He now not only made peace with him the instant he came to the throne, but became his ally against the empress-queen, whom Elizabeth had so warmly and constantly befriended. Thus, by a sudden change, the king of Prussia, who had been so hard pressed by the Austrian and Russian forces in concert, now prepared to enter Bohemia with the assistance of those very Russians who had fought against him but a few weeks before.

But this new state of affairs was again overturned almost as soon as formed, by a sudden revolution in Russia.

The new czar wanted to repudiate his wife, which stirred up the whole nation against him, whose affections he should have endeavored to gain. His wife thwarted the design against her, the army and the people declared in her favor, and Peter III. was confined in prison, where he died, in a few days, of a violent fit of the colic, to which he was subject.

The king of Prussia, though left to himself, resolved to continue the war. But what would have been the consequence of this chaos of events? The spilling of a prodigious quantity of blood; the raising of numerous armies, which would have done much more mischief than great exploits; the exhausting of whole nations for quarrels with which they had nothing to do; the destruction and plun-

dering of numerous towns; and, lastly, the ruin of the finances of those princes who had a share in the war.

And what have become of the enormous sums that had been lavished in this bloody contention? Why, they were hidden in the coffers of two or three hundred private persons, who acted as paymasters and commissaries to the respective armies; the contractors and the bankers of Frankfort, Hamburg, Dantzic, and Holland, made immense fortunes; and the Germans were better soldiers and richer tradesmen than they ever were before. Those disasters, which made everyone tremble, will speedily be forgotten, and lost in the crowd of general events, or swallowed up in a succession of new changes.

THE ENGLISH VICTORIES.

When Marshal Richelieu, in 1756, laid siege to Port Mahon, the capital of the island of Minorca, the English sent Admiral Byng, with a strong naval force, to drive the French fleet off the island, and raise the siege.

The English, who looked on themselves as masters of the sea, were incensed at Admiral Byng for not having beaten the French fleet: they accused him with having kept at too great a distance from the French admiral: he was tried for his life by a council of war, called in that country a court-

martial, who condemned him to be shot. The sentence was unanimously confirmed by the king and the council. Never, perhaps, was there an instance of a more severe sentence.

At this time there appeared a book, entitled: "An Estimate of the Manners of the Times," of which there were no less than five editions printed in London in the space of three months. In this treatise, the author proves that the English nation had entirely degenerated; that the more extensive its trade, the nearer it was to its ruin; that it was wrong to make use of the riches it possessed; that its inhabitants were no longer so robust and hardy as in former times; that its soldiers had lost their courage; and that this was owing to the great number of philosophers who were so wicked and senseless as to acknowledge only one God, and to be neither Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Quakers, Mennonites nor Anabaptists. We often meet with writings of this kind in France, of which no one takes any notice; but this roused the sensibility of the English nation, and produced the following consequences:

They attacked, almost at one and the same time, all the seacoast of France, and her possessions in Asia, Africa, and America.

The first conquest they made was of Chandernagor, an important post the French possessed at the entry of the Ganges in the East Indies. This was the great warehouse for all the curious merchandise we have out of the Mogul's country.

The English and French East India companies, as has already been observed, had for a long time carried on their trade in that part of the world sword in hand, and had engaged in their quarrels the nabobs or rajahs of the country, who are viceroys, or rather petty kings, sometimes independent, and at others subject to the Great Mogul, according to the ability of that emperor; that is, as he was more or less powerful.

After taking the town and fort of Chandernagor, the English continued without intermission to ruin the French trade in India. The Mogul government was so bad and weak that it could not prevent the European traders from forming alliances, and making war upon one another, even in the heart of the empire. The English in particular had the boldness to attack Surat, one of the finest and largest trading cities in India, and which belonged to the emperor, which they took and plundered, destroying all the French warehouses, and carrying off much booty; an act for which every Englishman should have been driven out of the country; but such was the inability of the weak though splendid court of the Great Mogul, that it did not even dare to take any notice of this flagrant outrage.

At length, after having forcibly taken almost all the ships belonging to the French East India company, they laid siege to Pondicherry, which was not defended as in the time of Governor Dupleix,

but surrendered at discretion; so that the French had nothing then left in that part of the world but the regret of having expended immense sums, during the space of forty years, to support a company that had never been of the least advantage to the state, had not even made a single dividend to the proprietors or creditors out of the produce of its trade; that had subsisted altogether by underhand dealings, and had been supported only by a part of the revenue on tobacco, which had been granted to it by the king: a memorable, though perhaps useless, example of the little knowledge the French have hitherto had of the extensive and ruinous trade to India.

While the English were thus ruining the French, by sea and land, in the East, they likewise drove them out of the West Indies. The French were in possession of the Senegal River, one of the branches of the Niger, where they had several forts, and carried on quite a trade in elephants' teeth, gold dust, and negroes, which latter were sold by their princes like beasts of burden, and who sometimes sell their own children, or even themselves, for slaves to the Europeans, who carry them over to America. The English took all the forts the French had built in these countries, together with all the valuable commodities they were possessed of, to the value of three millions of livres.

The last settlement the French had now left in this part of Africa was Gorée, which soon after sur-

rendered at discretion; and France was now stripped of all her possessions in that part of the world.

But her losses in America were still greater. Without entering into a detail of the several engagements between the two nations, and the taking of all our forts one after another, let it suffice to say, that the English made themselves masters of Louisburg for the second time; that place being as ill-fortified and badly provisioned as it had been the first. In short, the English took Surat, at the mouth of the river Indus, and made themselves masters of Quebec and all Canada, at the extremity of North America; the French troops, who had run the risk of an engagement in order to save Quebec, having been defeated, and almost all cut in pieces.

While the English were thus vigorously attacking the French on the continent of America, they cast their eyes on the islands belonging to that crown; and Gaudeloupe, a small but flourishing settlement, where the best sugars are made, fell into their hands almost without striking a blow. They afterward took Martinique, which was the best and richest of all the French colonies.

France could never have met with such a series of misfortunes, had she not lost almost all the ships she sent out to prevent them; no sooner did a fleet put to sea, than it was either taken or destroyed; new ships were put on the stocks, or fitted out to repair the former loss; but this was only working

for the English, into whose hands they were certain to fall, almost as soon as they had left their harbors.

The government, in order to avenge itself for so many losses, meditated a descent on Ireland. This project, after costing immense sums, proved abortive; for no sooner had the fleet designed to make this descent left the port of Brest than the ships of which it consisted were dispersed or taken by the enemy, or lost in the mouth of a little river called the Vilaine, whither they had run in vain for shelter. The English after this took the island of Belle-Île, in sight of the French coast, from whence no relief could be sent.

Never had the English so great a superiority by sea, though they have always been masters over the French in that element. They ruined the French navy in 1741, and utterly destroyed that of Louis XIV., in the War of the Spanish Succession. They were masters of the sea in the reigns of Louis XIII. and Henry IV., and still more so in the unfortunate times of the League. Henry VIII. of England had the same advantage over Francis I.

If you look back to former times, you will find that the fleets of Charles VI. and Philip of Valois could never make progress against those of Henry V. and Edward III.

But what can be the reason of this continual superiority? Is it not that the sea is the essential element of the English, whereas the French can on occasion do without it, and that every nation — as

we have elsewhere observed — always succeeds best in those things of which it stands absolutely in need? May it not arise from the capital of England being a seaport, whereas Paris, the metropolis of France, sees only a few boats passing up the Seine? Or, lastly, may not the English climate and soil produce more vigorous and robust men, with minds more fitted to labors and fatigues, than those of France, as it produces dogs and horses more fitted for the chase? But then, on the other hand, we know that the inhabitants of all that part of the coast of France, from Bordeaux to Picardy and Flanders, are capable of undergoing the hardest labor; and the province of Normandy alone once conquered all England.

Affairs were in this deplorable situation both by sea and land, when there arose a person of active and enterprising genius, who undertook to retrieve all. He was sensible that France was not able, by her own strength alone, to repair the losses she had sustained. He therefore engaged the court of Spain to espouse her quarrel: he united all the branches of the house of Bourbon in one common cause; and made the interests of Spain, Austria, and France the same. Portugal was in fact a kind of province of England, who drew from it nearly five millions yearly; it was therefore thought advisable to strike the first blow here; and Don Carlos, lately become king of Spain, by the death of his brother, determined to invade the Portuguese territories. This

was, perhaps, one of the greatest political strokes to be met with in history.

FRANCE FROM 1750 TILL 1762.

Some time before the breaking out of this war, as also during its course, the interior government of France had been disturbed by the old and inextinguishable dispute between the secular and ecclesiastical jurisdictions, as the limits of neither have as yet been properly ascertained, as is the case in England, and many other countries, particularly in Russia; this will prove the source of dangerous dissensions, so long as the rights of the crown and those of the different orders of the state remain in dispute.

In 1750 we had a minister of the finances, who had the courage to order the clergy and religious orders to deliver a record of their effects, in order that the king might see from their revenues what they owed to the government. Nothing could be more just and equitable than this proposal; but it was attended with consequences that had the appearance of sacrilege. The old bishop of Marseilles wrote to the comptroller-general as follows: "Do not put yourself under the necessity of disobeying either God or the king; you cannot but know to whom you owe the preference."

This letter, sent in the name of a superannuated prelate, who could not write, was, in reality, the

work of a Jesuit, named Lemaire, who had the direction of the conscience of him and his household, and was a fanatic from principle, which are ever the most dangerous kind of people.

The minister then was obliged to drop his design, which he should not have undertaken, unless he could have gone through with it. Some of the clergy took advantage of this, and endeavored to cut out work for the government by sounding the alarm on spiritual matters, hoping that the general confusion would prevent any attack being made on their temporals. They knew that the Bull *Unigenitus* was held in abhorrence by the common people; they accordingly resolved to oblige all dying persons to give a certificate or billet of confession, which billets were to be signed by those priests who were sticklers for the bull, without which there could be no extreme unction, nor administration of the sacrament in the last moments; and these two comforts were refused without pity to all those who were appellants — that is, who objected to the bull — or who confessed themselves to appellants. The archbishop of Paris joined in this scheme more through a dogmatical zeal than the spirit of cabal.

And now every family was alarmed, all schism was renounced, those who were called Jansenists began to declare openly that, if it was so difficult to obtain the sacraments, people would very soon learn to do without them, as well as they did in so many other countries.

The curate of St. Stephen du Mont, a little parish in Paris, having refused the sacrament to a counsellor of the Châtelet, the parliament threw the curate into prison.

The king, observing these beginnings of a little civil war between his parliament and the clergy, forbade his courts of judicature to concern themselves in matters relating to the sacraments, reserving the cognizance thereof for his privy council. The parliaments complained that this order took from them the exercise of the general police of the kingdom, and the clergy could not with patience suffer that the royal authority should pretend to decide in religious controversies.

Matters began now to grow warm on all sides, when a vacancy occurred in the place of superior to a hospital for young women and immediately the archbishop of Paris pretending that he had the sole right of nomination, the flames of discord began to break out with fury.

The parliament opposed the archbishop's pretensions; and the king having given it in his favor, the parliament desisted from its functions, and refused to administer justice. The king found himself under the necessity of sending his musketeers with *lettres de cachet* to all the members of that court, commanding them to resume their functions, on pain of being punished for disobedience.

Upon this the chambers continued to sit as usual, but when any causes came to be tried, there was no

advocate found to plead. This resembled in some manner the times of the League, but without the horrors of civil war. It was rather a matter of folly and ridicule.

This folly, however, was perplexing. The king determined to extinguish by moderation these sparks which might have lighted up a dangerous flame, and to this end exhorted the clergy not to make use of unwarrantable severities. The parliament likewise resumed all its functions.

But it was not long before the billets of confession made their appearance again, and some fresh refusals of the sacraments set all Paris a-murmuring. The curate of St. Stephen's before mentioned being found guilty of a second prevarication, was summoned before the parliament, who prohibited him and all other curates from giving the like cause of scandal for the future, under pain of forfeiting their temporalities. By the same arret the archbishop of Paris was invited to exert his authority in putting an end to this cause of complaint. The term "invited" seemed to agree with the plan of moderation adopted by the king. But the archbishop, not pleased that a secular court of justice should even pretend to the right of inviting him to do anything, went to complain of it in Versailles. He was encouraged in this step by the old bishop of Mirepoix, named Boyer, who was appointed by the ministry to present to the king proper persons for having church livings. This man had formerly been

a Theatin, was afterward made a bishop, and then became a minister; he was a person of very narrow conceptions, but a zealous stickler for the rights of the clergy. He looked on the bull as an article of faith, and making use of all the influence which his place gave him, he persuaded the court that the parliament had made an attack upon the privileges of the Church; upon which the arret was annulled. On this occasion that body made some strong and pathetic remonstrances.

The king very prudently ordered them to confine themselves to giving him an account of all the information they should receive on these subjects, reserving to himself the right of punishing those priests whose offensive zeal might sow the seeds of schism among his subjects. He likewise forbade, by an arret of his council of state, anyone to give another the name of Innovator, Jansenist, or Semipelagian. This was ordering madmen to be wise.

The curates of Paris, at the instigation of the archbishop, presented a petition to the king in favor of the billets of confession. Immediately upon this, the parliament suspended the curate of St. Jean en Grève, who had drawn up the petition. The king again annulled their proceedings, and the parliament again desisted from its functions, and persisted in the remonstrances; the king on his side continued to exhort both parties to peace. But it was all labor in vain.

The parliament ordered a letter of the bishop of

Marseilles, which had been laid before them, to be burned by the hands of the common executioner, and condemned a book written by the bishop of Amiens. The assembly of the clergy, who sat at that time in Paris, as they do every five years, to pay their subsidies to the king, resolved to wait on him with their complaints, dressed in their canonicals; but the king would not permit this extraordinary ceremony.

The parliament, on the other hand, condemned one of the porters who carry the host, to make the *amende,* to ask pardon on his knees, and to receive a reprimand; and a vicar of a parish to be banished. The king annulled this arret also.

Such proceedings daily became more common; the king still recommended peace, the bishops still continued to refuse the sacraments, and the parliament to condemn their proceedings.

At length, the king gave the parliament permission to give sentence in the affair of the sacraments, in case any cause of that kind should be brought before it; but he, at the same time, forbade it to seek out for such causes. The parliament then resumed its functions a second time, and the several parties, whose lawsuits had been neglected for these affairs, were again at liberty to ruin themselves as usual.

Nevertheless, the flame was not so entirely quenched but that it continued to smother in private. The archbishop had given orders to refuse the

sacraments to a couple of poor old nuns of St. Agatha, who having formerly heard their confessor say that the Bull *Unigenitus* was the work of the devil, were afraid of being damned if they subscribed to this bull on their deathbeds, and were also afraid of being damned if they should die without receiving extreme unction. The parliament thereupon sent their register to the archbishop to desire him not to refuse these two women the usual comforts. The archbishop answered in his usual manner, that he was accountable for his conduct to God only; in consequence of which answer the parliament seized on his temporalities, and invited the princes of the blood and the peers to come and take their seats in the house.

The dispute now had the appearance of becoming serious, and people began to fear a renewal of the times of the League. The king forbade the princes and peers to go and vote in the Parliament of Paris on matters which he had reserved for the cognizance of his privy council. The archbishop had also influence enough to get the little community of St. Agatha dissolved for entertaining so bad an opinion of the Bull *Unigenitus*.

All Paris murmured at these proceedings, which affected the peace of several other parts of the kingdom, in particular the city of Orleans, which was in confusion on account of the refusal of the sacraments: the parliament gave the same decrees in regard to that city as to Paris, and schism was

advancing with rapid strides. One Sunday, in the middle of his sermon, a curate in the diocese of Amiens resolved to desire all those of his congregation who were Jansenists to leave the church, and said that he should be the first who would wash his hands in their blood. He had even the audacity to mention some of his parishioners by name, who were thereupon pelted with stones by some of the more zealous constitutionists as they came out of church, though it is very certain that neither the one nor the other knew anything at all of what the bull or Jansenism meant.

An outrage of this kind was punishable with death. The Parliament of Paris, in whose jurisdiction Amiens is, contented itself with sentencing the factious and bloodthirsty priest to perpetual banishment; and the king approved of the sentence, as it did not relate to a crime merely spiritual, but to the illegal act of a seditious and turbulent person, and a disturber of the public peace.

During these commotions Louis XV. acted like a father who endeavors to part his children when fighting with one another. He forbade all manner of insult or abuse; he reprimanded some, and exhorted others; he enjoined silence, forbade the parliament from passing sentence on spiritual matters, and recommended the bishops to use circumspection in regard to the bull, which he looked on as a law of the Church, but he would not have this dangerous law made the subject of contest. But

all this paternal care proved of little effect on minds heated with opposition and fears. The parliaments pretended that they could not separate the spiritual from the civil, seeing that spiritual disputes necessarily introduced with them disputes of state.

It summoned the bishop of Orleans to appear for having refused the sacraments. It ordered all the books and papers which had disputed its jurisdiction to be burned by the hands of the hangman, excepting only the king's declaration. It sent some of its counsellors to have its decrees registered at the Sorbonne, and concluded with desisting a third time from the exercise of its functions, of trying causes between individuals, in order to give its attention wholly to the affair of the sacraments.

The king, on his side, sent a third time his *lettre de jussion,* commanding them to proceed to the exercise of their duty, and no longer to make his subjects suffer in their private concerns for these general disputes; observing, that the lawsuits of individuals had nothing to do with the Bull *Unigenitus.*

The parliament returned for answer, that they could not acknowledge the king's letters-patent, without violating the oath they had taken; neither could they *obtemperate.* When they came to inquire at Versailles into the meaning of this word, it was, to the surprise of everyone, found to mean, obey.

The king then was obliged to order all the members of the court of inquests into banishment; some

were sent to Bourges, others to Poitiers, and others to Auvergne; and three of the most violent were imprisoned.

The great chamber was spared, but its members thought their honor required them to refuse this indulgence; and therefore persisted in not hearing causes, and continued their proceedings against the curates. The king banished them to Pontoise, a village about six leagues from Paris, whither the duke of Orleans had before sent them during his regency.

The Parliament of Normandy followed the example of that of Paris, in relation to the sacraments. It summoned the bishop of Evreux to appear and to desist from his functions. The king sent an officer of his guards to cancel the registers of this parliament, which at length became more tractable than that of Paris.

The stop put to distributive justice in the capital would have been productive of great happiness to mankind had they been either wise or just; but as they are neither, and as there is a necessity for law, the king commissioned certain members of his council of state to sit and terminate the several causes depending *en dernier ressort;* the court endeavored to get the creation of this new chamber registered in the Châtelet, as if the authority of an inferior court of justice was necessary to establish that of the sovereign. This custom of registering had always had its inconveniences; but the omis-

sion of this ceremony would have been attended with others still greater. The Châtelet refused to register till forced to it by *lettres de jussion*. The Royal Chamber then began to sit; but the advocates would not plead, and this court was the jest of all Paris, and indeed, of itself, agreeably to the known disposition of the French, who laugh one day at what filled them with dread the day before. The clergy, likewise, joined in the laugh, but it was for having won the victory.

Boyer, the old bishop of Mirepoix, who, without knowing it, had been the original cause of these disturbances, being now grown childish and worn out with age, everything seemed to promise fair for a reconciliation. The ministry entered into an amicable discussion of matters with the parliament; that body was recalled, to the general satisfaction of the whole city, who received them at their return with all possible demonstrations of joy; the populace shouting as they passed, *"Vive le Parlement;"* so that they returned in perfect triumph. The king, wearied with the obstinate inflexibility of the clergy and of the parliament, enjoined peace and silence, and permitted the secular judges to proceed against all such as should be found troubling the public peace.

Notwithstanding these salutary precautions, the spirit of schism broke out from time to time in Paris and the provinces; and several bishops, in spite of the king's orders in regard to the sacraments,

strove to win favor with the court of Rome by refusing them. The bishop of Nantes, in particular, having set this example of disobedience and offensive rigor in his city, was, by the court of Nantes, condemned in a fine of six thousand francs, which he was obliged to pay; nor did the king interfere, being heartily tired of these disputes.

Numberless scenes of this kind happened throughout the kingdom, which, though they might be melancholy for those interested in them, were, in general, matters of amusement to the idle multitude. At Orleans, an old Jansenist canon, being on his deathbed, his brethren refused to give him the sacraments, for which the Parliament of Paris fined them twelve thousand livres; and ordered that the sacrament should be given to the sick man. In consequence of this order the officer of the court disposed everything for this ceremony, as if it had been for an execution; in the meantime the canons managed matters so well that their brother died without having the sacrament, and they buried him as privately as possible.

Nothing was more common at this time than receiving the sacrament by act of parliament. The king, who had banished the judges for refusing to *obtemperate,* was willing to hold the balance even, by banishing, in their turns, the clergy, for persisting in their schism. He accordingly began with the archbishop of Paris, whom he ordered to retire to his house at Constans, three leagues from the

city; a very candid sentence, that had more the air of a fatherly admonition than a punishment.

The bishops of Orleans and of Troyes were, by a similar mild sentence, banished to their country-houses. The archbishop of Paris, being found as inflexible in his country-house as in his episcopal residence, was banished to a greater distance from the capital.

The parliament, which now found itself at liberty to act, reprimanded the Sorbonne, which, though it formerly held the bull in detestation, now looked upon it as an article of faith. The latter threatened to cease giving lessons; and the parliament, which had itself desisted from more important functions, ordered the faculty to continue theirs; in so doing it maintained the rights of the Gallican Church. The king approved of this proceeding, but when it would go further, he put a stop to it; and while he confirmed such of its decrees as tended to the public good, he annulled others in which he thought he saw want of proper circumspection.

Thus was this monarch continually in the midst of two powerful and incensed parties, like the Roman emperors between the white and green factions: his attention was also engaged by the hostilities which the English had begun against him at sea; and a land war seemed unavoidable. This was therefore no time to dispute about bulls.

He was also obliged to quiet the contests between

the great council and his parliaments; for as there are few or no positive laws in France to determine any particular point, as the privileges of the several orders are unsettled, the clergy have always endeavored to extend their jurisdiction. As the Chambers of Accounts had disputed many of the privileges of the parliaments, and the peers had frequently pleaded theirs against the Parliament of Paris, it is not to be wondered that the great council should have disputes with that body also.

This great council was originally the council of the kings of France, and accompanied them wherever they went; but, as everything has changed by degrees in the public administration, the great council underwent a change also. In the reign of Charles VIII. it was only a court of judicature; it now determines concerning appeals, the qualifications of judges, and all causes relating to benefices within the kingdom, excepting those of the régale. It has also the privilege of judging its own officers.

A counsellor of this court having been brought before the Châtelet for an affair of debt, the great council called the cause before them, and annulled the sentence of the Châtelet. Upon this the parliament took the alarm, and annulled the decree of the great council, and the king set aside the arret of the parliament. This occasioned such remonstrances and disputes that all the parliaments attacked the great council, and the public took different sides. The Parliament of Paris again invited

the peers to be present at this dispute between the two bodies; and the king again forbade them to associate. This affair remains, like many others, undecided.

The king, in the meantime, was occupied with matters of greater importance. He had a burdensome war to carry on against the English, both by sea and land. At the same time he laid that memorable foundation of a military school, which forms the noblest monument of his reign; and which the empress-queen has since imitated. He wanted supplies to carry on all those operations, and the parliament was very backward in registering the edicts for levying two *vingtièmes,* though they have since been obliged to grant three; for in time of war the subjects must either fight or pay those who do — there is no alternative.

The king held a bed of justice at Versailles, to which he summoned the princes of the blood, and the peers, together with the Parliament of Paris, and here he caused his edicts to be registered; but, as soon as the parliament returned to Paris, it protested against this registration, pretending that not only had it not been permitted the necessary liberty of inquiry, but also that this edict required such modifications as might not be injurious to the interests of the king nor those of the state, which were one and the same, and which by its oath it was bound to defend; adding, furthermore, that its

duty was not to please, but to serve. Thus zeal was at variance with obedience.

The old leaven of schism was mixed with this important affair of the taxes. A counsellor of the parliament being taken ill at his country seat, in the diocese of Meaux, desired to have the sacraments administered to him; but he was refused by a curate as being an enemy to the Church, and he died without having this ceremony performed. Upon this the curate was proceeded against, but he made his escape.

The archbishop of Aix had made a new formulary on the bull, for which the Parliament of Aix sentenced him to pay a fine of ten thousand livres to the poor, which he was obliged to pay, and so got clear, with the loss of his formulary and his money. The bishop of Troyes having raised some disturbances in his diocese, the king sent him into confinement among the monks of Alsace. The archbishop of Paris, who had been permitted to return to his house at Constans, declared all persons excommunicated who should read the arrets and remonstrances of the parliaments concerning the bull and billets of confession.

Louis XV., whom these variances greatly perplexed, carried his circumspection so far as to ask advice of Pope Benedict XIV. (Lambertini), a person of as moderate disposition as himself, beloved by all Christendom for his mild and pleasing carriage, and whose loss we at present more and more

regret. He never interfered in any affair but with a view to peace. His secretary of the briefs, Cardinal Passionei, managed everything. The cardinal, who was the only one in the sacred college at that time who was a man of letters, had too exalted an understanding not to despise all these disputes. He hated the Jesuits for having drawn up this bull, and could not keep himself from blaming the ill-advised conduct of the court of Rome, in condemning by this bull, maxims in themselves virtuous, unalterably true, and suitable to all times, and every nation; such, for instance, as the following: "The fear of excommunication ought not to prevent anyone from acting agreeably to his duty"—a maxim that is the support and defence of virtue throughout the world. Both ancients and moderns have always agreed that our duty should prevail over the fear of punishment.

But strange as this bull might appear in more than one article, neither Cardinal Passionei nor the pope could repeal a constitution which was looked upon as a law of the Church. Benedict XIV., therefore, sent the king a circular letter for all the bishops of France, in which he does, indeed, consider this bull as a universal law, which is not to be opposed "without endangering our eternal happiness;" but then he concludes with this decision, that, "in order to avoid scandal, the priest should inform some dying persons who are suspected of being Jansenists that they will be damned, and then

administer the sacrament to them at their own risk and peril."

The same pontiff, in his private letter to the king, recommended the episcopal rights to his protection. Whoever consults a pope in any age must expect that he will answer as a pope should do.

But Benedict XIV., while he observed everything that was due to his station, was not wanting in what he owed to peace, good order, and the authority of the prince. The pope's brief to the bishops was printed, when the parliament had the courage, or, if you will, the temerity to publish an arret, condemning it, and ordering it to be suppressed. This step was the more offensive to the king, as he himself had sent this brief to the bishops, in which there was nothing that concerned either the liberties of the Gallican Church, or the rights of the sovereign, of which the parliament have, in all times, been the protectors and avengers; so that the present censure passed by that body seemed to savor more of ill humor than moderation.

The council now thought it had found a new reason to condemn the conduct of the Parliament of Paris; several other superior courts, who have the names of parliaments, were called "Classes of the Parliament of the Kingdom," a title which had been given them by the chancellor de L'Hôpital, and which signified no more than the union of the several parliaments in the knowledge and maintenance of the laws. The parliament did not pretend to rep-

resent the whole state, as divided into different companies, which, altogether, making one body, constituted the states-general of the kingdom; this would indeed have been a grand idea, but it would have been too much so, and might have proved offensive to the royal authority.

These considerations, joined to the difficulties made in regard to registering the money-edicts, determined the king to hold a bed of justice, and there make an alteration in the Parliament of Paris.

However private the ministry kept this design, it got abroad, and when the king came to Paris, he was received with a mournful silence. The common people consider the parliament merely as the imposer of taxes, without ever examining whether these taxes are necessary, or once reflecting that the several commodities in which they deal sell at a higher price in proportion to those taxes, and that the burdens at length fall on the rich. These latter again complain in their turn, and, by their murmurings, encourage those of the populace.

The English have been more burdened than the French in this war; but in England the nation taxes itself, and knows what fund is established for the payment of the sums raised. On the contrary, the French are taxed without ever knowing for what the funds destined for such payment are to be assigned. In England there are no private persons who contract with the government for furnishing the sums to be raised by the taxes, and who enrich

themselves at the expense of the nation, which is the case in France. The French parliaments have made repeated remonstrances to their kings against this abuse; but there are certain times in which those remonstrances, and the difficulties about registering, are more dangerous than even the taxes, because the exigencies of war demand instant supplies; whereas amending the abuse of these supplies requires time.

The king then came to the parliament, and caused an edict to be read, by which he suppressed two chambers of that body, and several officers. He ordered due respect to be paid to the Bull *Unigenitus,* forbade the secular judges to prescribe the administering of the sacraments, leaving them at liberty only to take cognizance of the abuses or crimes committed under such administration. He enjoined the curates to observe moderation and discretion, and desired that all past disputes might be buried in oblivion.

He ordered that no counsellor should be admitted to consultation under the age of twenty-five, and that no person should be entitled to vote in the assembly of the chambers, till he had served ten years; and he concluded by laying the most strict injunctions that no one should, on any pretext whatsoever, interrupt the customary business of the court.

The chancellor, for form's sake, demanded the opinions of the members, but everyone kept pro-

found silence. The king said he would be obeyed, and that he would severely punish anyone who should depart from his duty.

The next day, fifteen counsellors of the great chamber resigned their office in court: a hundred and twenty members of the parliament followed their example soon afterward. Upon this, there was a universal murmuring throughout the city; but these commotions were soon swallowed up in a general consternation, occasioned by an unexpected and shocking accident. The king was stabbed on January 5, in his own court, at Versailles, in presence of his son, and surrounded by his guards and all the great officers of the crown. This extraordinary affair happened thus:

A wretch of the dregs of the people, named Robert Francis Damiens, born in a little village, in the neighborhood of Arras, had lived for some time as a servant in several houses in Paris: this man was of a passionate and gloomy disposition, approaching to madness.

The general murmurings which he had heard in public places, and in the great hall of the parliament-house, had heated his indignation. He set out for Versailles, like a man who knew not whither he was going, and in the agitation of mind which must necessarily have attended the horrible design he had conceived, he desired, while at the public house where he lodged, that a surgeon might be sent for to bleed him. Physical prepossessions have so great

an influence on the human mind, that this man said, on his examination, that had he been bled when he desired it, he was convinced he should not have committed this horrible crime.

The design he had formed was the most extraordinary that had ever entered into the head of any monster of this kind. He had no intention of killing the king, as he himself absolutely declared after he was apprehended — and which indeed he had but too fair an opportunity to do — but only designed to wound him, as appears by the following declaration, which he made before the parliament, at the time of his trial:

"I had no intention to kill the king, which I might have done, had I been so inclined. I only did it, that God might touch the king's heart, and work on him, to restore things to their former footing, and give peace to his kingdom. The archbishop of Paris is the sole cause of all these troubles."

This notion had got such a thorough possession of his mind that, in another of his answers, he says:

"I mentioned the names of some counsellors of the parliament, because I was formerly servant to one; and they are almost all to a man furiously incensed against the archbishop."

In short, this unhappy wretch was so lost in fanaticism that, in the examination he underwent at Versailles, we find the following passage:

Being interrogated what motives had induced him

to make an attempt upon the person of his sovereign, he replied, "It was for religion's sake."

All those who have attempted the lives of Christian princes have made use of this pretext. The king of Portugal had not been assaulted, but for the decision of three Jesuits. It is sufficiently known that Henry III. and IV. of France fell by the hands of fanatics; but there was this difference between them and Louis XV.: they were murdered because they appeared to be enemies to the pope, and he was stabbed for having seemed desirous to oblige the pope.

The assassin had provided himself with a clasp-knife, one side of which had a long sharp-pointed blade, and the other was to cut pens with, and was about four inches long. He waited for the king to get into his coach to go to Trianon. It was nearly six o'clock in the evening, the daylight was dying, the weather was excessively cold, so that almost all the court were wrapped up in large cloaks, called redingotes. The villain, who wore one of those, pushed through the guards, brushed the dauphin as he passed by him, got in between the bodyguard and the king, stabbed him with his penknife under the fifth rib, returned his knife to his pocket, and remained in his place with his hat on his head. The king, finding himself wounded, turned his head, and seeing a strange man standing close by him, with his hat on, and his eyes staring wildly, cried out: "That

is the person who has wounded me, secure him; but let no one do him any hurt."

While everybody was in amazement and horror, and they were carrying the king to his bed, and sending for the surgeons to examine if the wound was mortal, or the weapon had been poisoned, the assassin cried out several times: "Look to the dauphin! do not suffer him to stir abroad all day."

Upon this, the general terror was redoubled; no one doubted that there was a plot formed to cut off the royal family, and that the most bloody and premeditated horrors were about to ensue.

Happily the king's wound was but slight; but the apprehensions of the public were far from being so; and the whole court was filled with fear, distrust, and intrigues. The grand provost of the household, who, by his office, is to take cognizance of all crimes committed within the king's palace, immediately took the murderer into custody, and proceeded to bring him to trial, in the same manner as had been observed in the case of the murderer of Henry III., at St. Cloud. An exempt of the provost's guard, having, in appearance or reality, gained some kind of confidence over the disordered mind of this miscreant, persuaded him to write a letter to his majesty from his prison.[1] The letter was as follows:

Sire: I am extremely sorry that I have been so unfortunate as to approach your sacred person; but if you do not

[1] On the back of this letter was written, in a flourish, "*ne varietur*," by, and according to, the desire of the exam-

take the part of your people, before many years are passed, both you and the dauphin and some others, will come to an untimely end. It would be a pity that so good a prince should be in danger of his life, on account of the too great indulgence he shows to the clergy, in whom alone he seems to put all his confidence; and if you are not so good as to alter this in a short time, very fatal consequences will follow, your kingdom not being safe, because, unfortunately for you, your subjects have given you their dismission; this affair coming altogether from them. And if you have

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ination of the aforesaid Francis Damiens, dated this 9th of January, one thousand seven hundred fifty and seven, at Versailles, the king being there.

Signed DAMIENS.

Le Clerc, du Brillet, and du Voigne, with a flourish.

A little lower was written:

"To the king."

Here follows the tenor of a writing, signed "DAMIENS."

Copy of the note.

MESSIEURS

Chagrange; Seconde.

Baisse de Lisse.

De la Guiomye.

Clement.

Lambert.

The President de Rieux Bonnainvillers.

The President de Mazi, and almost all.

He must reinstate his parliament, and protect it, with a promise not to do anything to the underwritten and company. Signed DAMIENS.

Lower again was written;

In a flourish, "*ne varietur*," by, and according to the desire of the examination, this ninth January, one thousand seven hundred fifty and seven.

Signed DAMIENS.

Le Clerc, du Brillet, and du Voigne, with a flourish.

The said letter, as well as the said writing, annexed to the minute of the examination.

not the goodness for your people to order that the sacraments be administered to them when they are dying, which comfort you have refused them since holding your bed of justice, and the Châtelet having sold the goods of the priest who made his escape; I repeat to you, that your life is in danger, on the information (which is very true) that I take the liberty of acquainting you with, by the officer who brings this letter, in whom I have placed all my confidence.

The archbishop of Paris is the cause of all the disturbance about the sacraments, by having refused them. After the cruel crime I have lately committed against your sacred person, the sincere confession I now take the liberty of making will, I hope, entitle me to your majesty's goodness and clemency.

Signed DAMIENS.

The letter is that of a madman, and is written in a style agreeable to his abject condition; but it discloses the real cause of his madness; it is evident that the complaints of the parliament and of the public against the archbishop had turned the brain of the criminal, and had stirred him up to this attempt. It appeared, by the names of the members of parliament, mentioned in his letter, that he knew them, but not that they had ever made him acquainted with their sentiments; much less that they had ever spoken a word, that could have encouraged him to the commission of this crime.

Accordingly, the king made no scruple to put the examination of the prisoner into the hands of those members of the great chamber who had not resigned. He would even have the princes and peers be present at this trial, in order to render it

more solemn and authentic in the eyes of the prying and distrustful multitude, who always see more than the truth in these shocking events. But, indeed, truth never appeared more manifest. It is evident that this madman had no accomplice; he constantly declared that he did not design to kill the king, but that he had formed the design of making an attempt on his person, ever since the banishment of the parliament.

While undergoing the torture, he declared, that he imagined he was doing a meritorious act in the sight of God; and I have heard all the priests about the court of justice say the same.

He persisted to the last, in saying, that it was the archbishop of Paris, the refusal of the sacraments, and the banishing of the parliament, that had induced him to make this attempt; he declared the same to his confessor, and died with the same sentiments, in such tortures as had been inflicted on Ravaillac.

His father, his wife, and his daughter, though innocent, were banished from the kingdom, on pain of being hanged, if they ever came back; and by the same arret, all his relatives were obliged to lay aside the name of Damiens, now become execrable.

This accident made an impression on the minds of those, who, by their ill-timed disputes about religion, had been the cause of this atrocious crime. They saw but too plainly the direful effects of the spirit of dogmatizing and enthusiastic fury. No one

could have imagined that a bull and billets of confession would have had such fatal consequences; but we generally find the follies and the wickedness of mankind thus connected with each other; and the spirit of Poltrot and James Clément, which was thought long ago extinct, still exists. Reason in vain makes its way to the minds of the better part of the nation; the populace will always be the dupes of fanaticism, and perhaps there is no other remedy against this contagion than enlightening the minds of that populace; whereas, they are generally trained up in ignorance and superstition, and afterward we are amazed to see the effects which such an education produces.

During these transactions, sixteen counsellors, who had resigned their seats, were sent into banishment; and one of them, who was a clerk, founded a perpetual mass of thanksgiving to God, for having saved the life of the monarch who had banished him.

Several officers of the Parliament of Besançon were also confined in different towns, for having not only refused to register the edict for raising a second *vingtième,* but having also issued a writ to seize the person of the intendant of the province.

The king, notwithstanding the attempt made on his life, and the destructive war he had to support, applied himself strenuously to the task of ending the disputes between the parliaments and the clergy, endeavoring to confine each order within its respective bounds. He again banished the archbishop of

Paris for having disobeyed his injunctions, only in the election of the superior of a convent, and afterward recalled him, thus rendering his authority more respected by his moderation. At length these heats subsided of themselves, and those members of the Parliament of Paris who had resigned their seats returned to them again, and resumed their functions. Everything now wore the appearance of tranquillity in the interior part of the kingdom, till a mistaken zeal and a spirit of party gave birth to new troubles.

PLOT AGAINST THE KING OF PORTUGAL.

A religious order is not a subject for history. No one of the historians of antiquity has entered into a detail of the institutions of the priests of Cybele, or Juno; unhappily for our European policy, the monks, whose very institution seems to seclude them from the notice of the world, have made as much noise in it as the greatest princes, as much on account of their immense riches as through the commotions and troubles they have continually raised since their foundation.

The Jesuits, as we have already shown, were absolute lords in Paraguay, though they acknowledged the king of Spain as their sovereign. The court of Madrid having by a treaty of exchange ceded certain districts in that country to Joseph of Braganza, king of Portugal, the Jesuits were accused

of having opposed this cession, and having stirred up to revolt those villages that were to pass under the dominion of the Portuguese. This complaint, joined to many others, caused the Jesuits to be banished from the court of Lisbon.

Some little time afterward, the family of Tavora, and in particular, the duke d'Aveiro, uncle of the young countess Ataïda d'Atouguia; the old marquis and marchioness of Tavora, her father and mother; her husband, the count of Ataïda; and one of the brothers of this unfortunate lady, having, as they thought, received an irreparable affront from the king, resolved to be revenged. Revenge and superstition, for the most part, act in concert with each other. Those of our communions, who meditate the commission of any great crime, generally seek for casuists and confessors to quiet their scruples. The family who thought itself injured applied to three Jesuits, named Malagrida, Alexander, and Mathos, who gave it as their opinion that killing the king was no more than a venial sin.

The better to understand this opinion, you are to know that casuists make a distinction between sins for which a man goes immediately to hell, and those for which he goes only into purgatory for a certain time; between those for which a priest can give absolution, on saying certain prayers, or paying a sum of money in alms, and those which may be absolved without making satisfaction; the first of these are called mortal, the second venial, sins.

Auricular confession gave rise to regicide in Portugal, as it had before done in many other countries. Such is the deplorable state of human nature — as we have too often had occasion to show in the course of this history — that an institution, which was in its origin intended as an expiation for crimes, has been made use of to encourage the commission of them.

The conspirators being provided with their pardons for the next world, lay in wait for the king as he was returning from one of his country seats alone, without any guards, and in the night-time, when they fired on his coach, and wounded him desperately.

All the accomplices in this horrid affair were taken, except one domestic. Some of them were broken alive on the wheel, and the others beheaded. The young countess of Ataïda, whose husband had been executed among the rest, was, by the king's order, confined in a monastery for life, there to lament, in a sorrowful retirement, the fatal ills of which she was supposed to have been the cause.

Portugal not having as yet received the same lights as most of the other European nations, paid a more implicit submission to the authority of the see of Rome than any of them, insomuch that the king could not give his judges authority to pass sentence of death on a priest who had attempted the life of his sovereign, without first sending to the pope for his consent. Thus, while other nations lived in the enlightened times of the eighteenth cen-

tury, Portugal seemed to be buried in all the darkness of the twelfth.

Posterity will hardly believe that the king of Portugal was two whole years soliciting the permission of the see of Rome to try Jesuits who were his own subjects, without being able to obtain it at last.

The courts of Lisbon and of Rome were at open variance for a considerable time, insomuch that there was room to believe that Portugal would at length throw off that yoke which the English, its protectors and allies, had long since trampled under their feet; but the Portuguese ministry had too many enemies to venture on an undertaking that the others had accomplished; and therefore gave at one and the same time a proof of the greatest resolution and most extreme condescension.

Those of the Jesuits who were deemed most culpable were in prison at Lisbon, where the king suffered them to remain, and sent all the rest of that order to Rome, banishing them from the kingdom forever, but he did not dare to put to death the three who had been accused and convicted of having a hand in the plot against his life.

He had therefore no other expedient but that of delivering one of them, Malagrida, over to the Inquisition, as a person suspected of having formerly advanced certain rash propositions, bordering on heresy.

The Dominicans, who are the judges of the holy

office, and assistants to the Grand Inquisitor, never loved the Jesuits; and therefore they were more ready to serve the king than the court of Rome had been. On this occasion, they brought to light a little book, entitled, "The Heroic Life of St. Anne, the Mother of Mary, Dictated to the Reverend Father Malagrida, by St. Anne herself"; in which that saint tells him that she was born without sin, as well as her daughter; that she had wept and had spoken in her mother's womb, and that she had made the cherubim weep. All the writings of Malagrida were equally sensible; he had made predictions, and performed miracles, and that of being troubled with nocturnal pollutions in his prison at the age of seventy-five, was none of the least.

All these things were brought against him at his trial, and he was condemned to the flames for these only, without being asked a single question concerning the attempt against the king's life, because this is only a crime committed against a layman; whereas, the others were crimes against God. Thus folly and absurdity were joined to the most horrible wickedness. An assassin was tried only for being a prophet, and was condemned to be burned only as a madman, and not as an assassin.

This affair of the Jesuits in Portugal, and their expulsion from that kingdom, revived the old hatred against them in France, where they have always been powerful, and always detested. It happened that one La Vallette, a professed monk of their

order, who was chief of the missions at Gaudeloupe, and one of the greatest traders in all the French islands, failed for over three millions. The creditors applied for redress to the Parliament of Paris. On inquiry, there appeared some reason to believe that the general of the Jesuits, residing at Rome, managed the effects of the society as he pleased; on which, the Parliament of Paris condemned the general and the rest of the order to pay all the debts of La Vallette, with costs and charges.

This trial, which incensed the whole kingdom against the Jesuits, brought on an inquiry into the very extraordinary institution which could render an Italian, the general of an order, absolute master of the persons and fortunes of a company of French traders. In the course of this scrutiny it appeared to the surprise of everyone, that the Jesuits had never been formally admitted into France by any of the parliaments of the kingdom; the constitutions of the order were next subjected to examination, and all the parliaments agreed that they were incompatible with the laws. All the old grievances and former complaints against this society were revived on this occasion, together with more than fifty volumes of theological decisions, which seemed to render the lives of crowned heads unsafe.

Against all these accusations the Jesuits made no other defence than that the Jacobins and St. Thomas had written in the same manner; but this only proved the Jacobins to be as blamable as them-

selves; as to St. Thomas d'Aquinas, he has been made a saint of; but there are some decisions in his "Ultramontane Summary," for which the parliaments of France would order his book to be burned on his very festival, were any one to attempt to put them in practice, to the disturbance of the government's tranquillity. Such is the following assertion, which occurs in many places in his book: that the Church has a right to depose a prince who is unfaithful to the Church; and that in this case, regicide is lawful. With such maxims as these, a man may have the chance of obtaining heaven and a halter.

The king condescended to interest himself in this affair of the Jesuits, and endeavored, as he had done in all the other disputes, to terminate them peaceably. With this paternal view, he would, by an edict, have made a reformation in the order; but it is said that Pope Clement XIII., having declared that the order must either remain as it was, or not exist at all, this speech proved the ruin of the Jesuits. And being moreover accused of holding private meetings, the king gave them over to the parliaments of the kingdom, who, almost all, one after another, have taken from them their colleges and their effects.

The parliaments condemned them wholly on account of certain rules of their institution, which the king might have altered by his authority, and also indeed for certain horrible maxims, most of

which had been published by Jesuits of other countries, but formerly disavowed by those of France.

In all great affairs there is ever a pretext set forth to the view of the world, and a real cause, which is kept secret. The pretext for punishing the Jesuits was the dangerous tendency of those wicked writings, which nobody read: the cause was the ill use they had made of their great influence and credit. It happened to them in an enlightened and refined age as it had to the Knights Templars in times of barbarism and ignorance; pride was the ruin of both. The Jesuits, however, have met with lenity amidst their disgraces; whereas the Templars were treated with the greatest cruelty.

It was neither the maxims of Sanchez, Lessius, nor Escobar, nor yet the absurd doctrines of the casuists, that proved the destruction of the Jesuits; it was Father Letellier and the bull that caused the almost total expulsion of this order in France.

The destruction of Port Royal, which Letellier so unweariedly labored for, has at the end of sixty years produced the same effects; and the persecution which that designing and revengeful priest raised against a set of obstinate men has rendered the Jesuits execrable in France: a memorable example, but one which, nevertheless, will not be found sufficient to warn any future confessor of a crowned head, if he be what almost every courtier is — of an arbitrary and intriguing disposition, and has the

direction of a prince of weak intellect, rendered still more feeble by age.

CONCLUDING NOTES ON THE GENERAL HISTORIES.

While France was taken up with these domestic events, the war continued in Europe. The alliance between France and Spain seemed to promise those two crowns the greatest advantages over the English; and the house of Austria, whose hands this alliance had also strengthened, was not without hopes of triumphing over its enemy, the king of Prussia. Formerly it was thought impossible that the houses of Bourbon and Austria could ever be united; and now that they were, it was imagined that they would be more than a match for all Europe, and yet the three petty German provinces of Brandenburg, Hanover, and Hesse, counterbalanced all the united forces of France and Austria.

England, by her navy alone, rendered this union of no effect; and Portugal, which seemed on the point of falling a prey to the Spanish arms, was saved from destruction. Thus, what was thought the least probable came to pass; of this we have had a hundred instances in the course of this extensive history, where we have seen the greatest events turn out directly contrary to the designs or expectations of mankind.

At one time we see an army of one hundred thou-

sand French not able to preserve Cassel from falling into the hands of the enemy; at another, the king of Prussia taking Schweidnitz in Silesia, in spite of the whole Austrian army; and no sooner had Spain declared war against England than the latter took from her the large island of Cuba, with a treasure amounting to more than a hundred millions, at that time in Havana.

France, in a manner exhausted, and having already made proposals of peace to the British court, was obliged once more to renew those proposals; and Spain was constrained to follow her example, and rest content with heavy losses. This war had begun about some contested lands which the English laid claim to in America, and they now remained masters of all the immense country of Canada, and that part of the continent which is east of the Mississippi River.

To these vast possessions they have added Florida; so that the English and Spaniards have the whole continent of America between them.

This is the most remarkable event of this war, which is the one thousandth that the princes of Christendom have made on each other since the dismembering of the Roman Empire.

Let those historians whose countries have been at war transmit to posterity a detail of the evils suffered, with all the ravages, losses, mistaken measures, and inadequate resources on each side.

As I consider only the manners and spirit of

nations, in this general confusion, I shall remark, that, in the midst of the cruelties inseparable from the hostile exercise of arms, we have had several instances in which a spirit of humanity and politeness has smoothed the rigors of war. The French who were made prisoners by the king of Prussia experienced the mildest treatment from that monarch and Prince Henry, his brother; and the two princes of Brunswick have distinguished themselves as much by their generosity as their victories. The princes, generals, and other officers among the French have given shining proofs of that true nobility which forms their character.

The English made a collection for the support of the seamen they had taken prisoners; and this generous act proceeded from no other principle than that of a humane philosophy, which began to gain ground in most nations, and which will in all probability at length put a stop to religious wars at least, if it cannot prevent those that are the effects of an unhappy state policy.

It is to this humane spirit that we owe the increase of academies in several kingdoms and republics, that have enlarged the human understanding by increasing its knowledge; and this same spirit, which easily communicates itself, has induced many learned men to apply themselves to agriculture, in order to render the earth fruitful, while others of an ambitious turn were bathing it in blood. In a word, there is the greatest room to hope that reason

and industry will continually make new advances; that the useful arts will multiply; that false prejudices, which are in the number of the greatest evils that attend mankind, will every day diminish among the princes and great men of the earth; and that sound philosophy, being universally diffused, will prove a ready consolation against the calamities incident in all times to human nature.

In this view, and with these hopes, this ESSAY ON GENERAL HISTORY is offered to the public. Humanity dictated it, and Truth held the pen. There are some persons who are to be looked upon only as the enemies of society, who have accused the painter of this complicated piece with having thrown too deep a shade on the crimes of mankind, particularly those of religion, and thereby rendered enthusiasm hateful, and superstition ridiculous.

The only reproach the author has to make himself on this head is, that he has not said enough; and the very charge of these enthusiastic bigots shows the necessity there was for such a history, since it proves that there are still some unhappy wretches troubled with this malady of the soul, who are afraid of being cured.

There will always be some uncivilized minds, even in the most polished nations and enlightened times. One of these has lately made his appearance in a work — published by authority, too — in which he defends the story of the nuns of Loudun, who were possessed with an evil spirit; and another madman

like himself has pretended to prove, in another book, that the massacre of St. Bartholomew was not a designed fact, palliates all the horrors perpetrated that day, commends the cruelties practised toward the Albigenses, and applauds the sentence passed on John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, as just; but this excess of folly may serve as a proof of what has been advanced in former parts of this history, namely, that reason and sound judgment have been greatly improved of late years among the thinking part of mankind, since these writers, who a century ago would have been esteemed as persons of exemplary zeal and piety, are now looked on with contempt and detestation.

It is impossible, in so extensive a history, for some errors not to have crept in, and perchance the author has been sometimes mistaken in dates, or may have altered names, and even circumstances; but he ventures to assert that all the principal facts are true. He has dwelt chiefly on great events; and when he takes notice of lesser ones, it is because they marked the characters he was about to draw.

There are several points in history that have been contested, especially in the Middle Ages: in this case he thought he could not do better than to adopt that side which appeared most agreeable to reason.

For instance: Eginhard, the secretary of Charlemagne, tells us that Pepin made a donation of the exarchate to St. Peter; but we find Charlemagne, by his will, bequeathing presents to his cities of

Rome and Ravenna; then if Rome and Ravenna were really his cities, they could not be under the dominion of the pope. Therefore, by the words, "made a donation to St. Peter," we are to understand only a religious ceremony, or pious oblation, which could not confer any right, since Pepin had none himself, to the exarchate; for should any one pretend to say: "This is mine, and I hold it from such a person, to whom it did not belong;" such a plea would not hold good either before God or man. After all, this is a very idle dispute; for it is not on this donation, the original title of which never appeared, that the popes found their claim to the sovereignty of Rome and Ravenna, but on the concession of Rudolph of Hapsburg, which is preserved and shown at Rome, and which is by far the most advantageous title.

A writer, equally ignorant and evil-minded, pretends to assert that the kings Clotharius, Gontran, Cherebert, Sigebert, and Chilperic, had never any more than one wife at a time. Is it possible he could be ignorant that Clotharius I. married two sisters, Rugonda and Aregonda, as also Gonduica, his sister-in-law, and three other wives besides her; and that he had almost always three at once, which was not at that time a custom with the kings of France? Is there anyone ever so little conversant with history who does not know that, when his son Chilperic married a sister of Queen Brunehaut, his ambassadors were obliged to swear, in their

master's name, that he would not marry any more during his wife's lifetime, which sufficiently shows that Chilperic had not then laid aside the practice of polygamy. Caribert gave three wicked rivals to Queen Ingoberga, and they all three have the name of wives. Gontran had two at one time, Marcatrude and Austregele: it should seem that he repented of his sin, for he has been ranked in the number of saints. There is not a French annalist who does not admit that Dagobert I. married in the same year three wives, Nantilda, Usfgonda, and Bertilda. This fact is much better attested than the massive throne of gold, which St. Eloy is said to have made for them.

Many things might be added to this ESSAY ON GENERAL HISTORY, but it was necessary to keep within bounds. The judicious and learned reader will make many in his own mind that are not to be met with even here. I shall therefore confine myself to submitting the following conjecture on the ancient Egyptians, which may serve for the history of other ancient nations:

Here we have opened to us a vast field for historical conjecture. We see Egypt a long time kept in subjection by the people of ancient Colchis, inhabitants of those barbarous countries now known by the names of Georgia, Circassia, and Mingrelia. These people must undoubtedly have been much more respectable formerly than they are at present, since we find the first voyage of the Greeks to Col-

chis forms one of the minor epochs of Grecian history. It is certain that the customs and manners of the people of Colchis greatly resemble those of the Egyptians, from whose priests they had taken even the practice of circumcision. Herodotus, who had travelled into Egypt and Colchis, and who wrote for Greeks of learning and knowledge, leaves us no room to doubt of this conformity. Though an exact and faithful writer, he is nevertheless charged with having been imposed on in all that he relates after others. The Egyptian priests had persuaded him that King Sesostris formerly left his dominions with the design of conquering the world, and that having taken Colchis in the course of his conquests, the practice of circumcision had been retained in that country ever since.

In the first place, the design of making the conquest of the whole world is a romantic notion that could never have entered into the head of a man in his right senses. To make war first on their neighbors, either to extend their own dominions or for the sake of plunder; after this, to push their conquests further and further, as opportunity or a faint resistance made the way easy to them, has always been the progress of all conquerors.

Secondly, it is not probable that a sovereign of so fertile a country as Egypt would waste his time and pains in conquering the dreary lands of Mount Caucasus, inhabited by a race of hardy men as warlike as they were poor, a hundred of whom were

more than sufficient to check the progress of a whole army of the weak and effeminate Egyptians.

It is nearly the same as if we were to suppose a king of Babylon to have left Mesopotamia in order to make the conquest of Switzerland.

A people bred up in wild and barren countries, where they live wholly by hunting, and who are as savage as the beasts of their inhospitable regions, may quit those regions to go in search of and attack more wealthy nations, but the latter never leave their agreeable and convenient dwellings to make irruptions into uncultivated countries.

The barbarous inhabitants of the north have in all ages made irruptions into the southern countries. You have seen that the people of Colchis held Egypt under subjection for nearly three hundred years, to begin at the reign of St. Louis. You see also, that in every age, Egypt has fallen an easy prey to whosoever chose to make the conquest of it. It is therefore extremely probable that the barbarous nations of Mount Caucasus might have subjected the countries bordering on the Nile, but not very probable that Sesostris ever conquered those about Caucasus. In the third and last place, how comes it that of all the nations whom the Egyptian priests pretended to have been conquered by King Sesostris, the Colchians alone retained the practice of circumcision? It must have passed through Greece and Asia Minor to have come to the country of the Medes. The Greeks, who were great imitators,

would certainly have adopted this ceremony first; and one would imagine that Sesostris himself would have been more attentive to securing his dominion over so fine a country as Greece, and to subjecting it to his laws, than to going to cut off the foreskins of the Colchians. Upon the whole, it is much more agreeable to the common order of things that the Scythians, who inhabited the borders of the Phasis and Araxes, and were always a half-starved and warlike people, made irruptions into Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt; and, after having settled about Thebes and Memphis, in these early ages, as they did afterward in the time of St. Louis, had carried back with them into their own country some part of the religious rites, and the customs of the Egyptians.

It is now for the intelligent reader to weigh these several arguments, ancient history furnishing us only with doubts and conjectures in regard to all the nations under the sun.

In modern history there is more certainty, and the picture of our weaknesses, our errors, and superstitions, is likewise more interesting. It is by this history of our own follies that we are taught wisdom, and not by the dark discussions of a vain antiquity. We have observed, in the course of this essay, that in all those countries where exorcisms began to be laid aside, they no longer heard of witchcrafts nor persons possessed by the devil. It is true they were much scarcer than in other coun-

tries, but it would be doing too much honor to human nature to suppose that the belief of witchcrafts and possessions ceased entirely among the dissenters from the Romish communion.

Such is the weakness of the mind of man, and such the inconsistency of his thoughts, that a considerable time after exorcisms had been abolished among the reformed, they sometimes admitted witchcrafts and possessions by evil spirits. There were some persons burned as sorcerers in Denmark, Sweden, Pomerania, and Holland. You will find a very authentic account of them all, in the "Enchanted World," of Beker, and you will even find more than one Protestant minister who believed, or pretended to believe, in these possessions and witchcrafts, lest, by entirely rejecting them, they should seem also to reject a part of Christianity, which is founded on this belief. "For," said they, "if we allow that the devil inspires us with thoughts, and that these thoughts act on our bodies, why may not the devil have the same power over our bodies, as over our minds?" This way of reasoning might be applied to such as were said to be possessed, but could never be a proof of the power of sorcerers or magicians. But this is not the place for discussing these questions. Suffice it to know that though human reason is freed from this prejudice, it retains several others, and often forms new ones; and that the number of wise men is very small, even in the most enlightened times.

One of the most horrible abuses of the monastic state, but which falls only on those who, having had the imprudence to enter into that state, have the misfortune to repent of it afterward, is the licence which the superiors of convents assume of exercising the office of civil magistrates within their own precincts, which they carry to such a length as to shut up in a dungeon, for their lives, such of the monks as they dislike, and imagine they have reason to distrust. There have been numberless examples of this ecclesiastical tyranny in Italy and Spain; there have been some also in France. This is called, in the monkish jargon, being "*in pace*" with the bread of tribulation and the water of anguish.

In the "History of the Common Law," which was partly composed by M. d'Argenson, minister for foreign affairs, a man of much more learning and philosophy than was generally imagined; in this history, I say, you will find that the intendant of Tours set at liberty a person who had been thus confined, whom he had with great difficulty found out, after the most diligent search. You see also that M. de Coaler, bishop of Orleans, delivered one of these unhappy monks, who was shut up in a cistern, the mouth of which was covered with a great stone. But what you will not find there is that a severe punishment was inflicted on the superiors for their inhuman insolence in assuming the royal authority and exercising it in so tyrannical a manner.

Historical truth has compelled us to say that

Opas, archbishop of Seville, was, in concert with Count Julian, the first instrument the Moors made use of to subdue the kingdom of Spain. This is such a well-known fact that it would have been just as shameful to pass it over in silence as it is to contradict it. The chronological abridgment of the history of Spain calls Bishop Opas "the wickedest priest, and worst subject in the kingdom."

With regard to Mahomet, it is of little significance whether his father was the tenth or twelfth son of Abdal Moutaleb, or how long he was factor to the widow Khadijah, to whom he was afterward married. Some think that he could neither write nor read, and that this makes his successes the more wonderful. They found this opinion on certain passages of the Koran wherein Mahomet calls himself the ignorant prophet, and insinuates that he cannot write. The sense of that passage seems to be no more than this, that in himself he was ignorant and incapable of reading or writing well, but that the angel Gabriel had exalted him above himself; for it is hardly probable that he, who had been a merchant, and afterward became a lawgiver, a poet and musician, and who, on his deathbed, desired that the proper things might be brought to him to write, should have been ignorant of what was known to every child in Mecca.

As to what relates to Christianity, it is a point of a more delicate nature. The author has never set up to act the divine, but has confined himself

to historical truth, and has narrated facts as he found them, leaving the learned and sensible reader to draw his own inferences. If Calvin absolutely suffered Servetus to perish at the stake, after having declared in his writings that no man should be punished for following the opinion of Servetus, the author was obliged to relate this fact, without fear of displeasing a fanatic or an impostor. He was under the same necessity of portraying the ambition, cruelty, and abandoned lives of several of the pontiffs. They were men, and he wrote the history of mankind; besides, their vices serve as foils to offset the virtues of those of the present age.

In examining this history, we find some letters attributed to Queen Christina. She wrote one to Cardinal Mazarin on the subject of Monaldeschi's murder, in which she thus expresses herself:

"Be it known to you all, servants and masters, that it has pleased us to act in this manner. I would have you know likewise that Christina cares very little for your court, and still less for you. My will is a law that is to be respected. Silence is your duty. Know that wheresoever Christina is, she is Queen." This letter has no date. If Christina really wrote it, she can be looked on only as a murderess gone mad. This princess had a good understanding, and acquired no small glory by the contempt she showed for a throne; but then she sullied all that glory by her conduct. If this letter is fictitious, it can only be the work of one of those grovelling slaves, who

imagined that a Swedish woman, because she had reigned at Stockholm, had a right to cause an Italian to be murdered at Fontainebleau. On this occasion silence was so far from being the duty of Cardinal Mazarin, that, as prime minister, he should have made Christina feel the whole weight of the royal indignation. It was the duty of the attorney-general to prefer an information against these ruffians who had been hired to murder a foreigner in the royal palace; and, indeed, they should have obliged Queen Christina to be present at the execution of the assassins whom she had kept in pay, and afterward to quit the kingdom herself; nay, there are many persons of strict justice who would have gone to more rigorous lengths.

The author of this essay cannot have been influenced either by regard, hatred, or interest; and it is by no means from an inclination to flatter anyone that he has, in "The Age of Louis XIV.," taken some pains to refute the mistaken notion which had been broached in public, that the clergy of France were in possession of a third of the revenues of the nation. What had a layman and a recluse to hope from the favor of the clergy? He only meant to do honor to the truth he loves. The clergy have not eighty millions income, and that body has done its duty by assisting the necessities of the state, in proportion to its income. The French bishops have acquired the public esteem by their conduct, and by those extensive charities which cannot fail to

make them dear to their flocks in particular. In general, the body of clergy, dignified and others, in England and France, have done as much good as religious disputes formerly did harm, in those two kingdoms.

Several wise and moderate persons seem to wish that a general toleration might take place in France, as well as in England. An indulgence of this kind, say they, at once peoples and enriches a country; and a wise administration may always prevent the evil effects arising from a mixture of different faiths, especially as the superior understandings of the principal citizens would be a check upon the extravagance or absurdity of the lower class.

In treating of Jansenism and Molinism, I have exhibited them in that ridiculous light which is characteristic of their disputes, and I have endeavored to show that what is in itself contemptible frequently becomes dangerous from not being sufficiently despised. In proportion as the understandings of mankind are impressed with a proper notion of the bad tendency and absurdity of these disputes, the public peace will be secured against any attempts to injure it.

We have shown France happy and unhappy; successful and unfortunate; her military discipline encouraged and neglected; her revenues copious and exhausted; her navy respectable and ruined; and her trade flourishing and languid. These are vicissitudes inseparable from human affairs: but

we have not presumed to lay down rules for military discipline, or the better management of the revenue, the marine, or commerce. We write history, and not systems.

There are certain anecdotes in "The Age of Louis XIV." of which the author was certain, and which have been in vain contested. That of the Man of the Iron Mask, which gave birth to so many strange conjectures, is not more extraordinary than true. The author has, very lately, been favored with a letter from the lord of Palteau, a château near Villeneuve le Roi, wherein it is confirmed that this prisoner lodged in this château; that several persons saw him come out of his litter; that he wore a black mask; and that he is still very well remembered in the neighborhood. There was no necessity for this fresh proof; but nothing should be omitted that tends to ascertain the truth of a fact so much out of the common road.

Another singular circumstance which relates to philosophy, and which is, perhaps, more remarkable in the history of the human mind, is the manner in which these two learned prelates, Fénelon and Huet, thought in their last moments. The treatise on "The Weakness of the Human Mind," by which the bishop of Avranches finished his career, leaves no room to doubt what were his last sentiments. These verses of the archbishop of Cambray,

Jeune j'étois trop sage,
Et voulois trop savoir, etc.

have been denied to be his: but it is so certain that they were written by him that his nephew, while ambassador at The Hague, caused them to be printed at the end of a folio edition of "Telemachus," together with some other of his fugitive pieces. The copies which have these verses in them are very scarce, but they are to be met with in some libraries.

To conclude: in writing the history of "The Age of Louis XIV." the author was forty years seeking the truth, and he has delivered it.

THE MOGUL.

Though there were several Indian astronomers who understood calculating eclipses, yet the common people could not be brought to believe otherwise than that the sun had fallen into the throat of a great dragon, and that the only way to free him was by standing naked in the water, and making a hideous noise to frighten the dragon and oblige him to let go his hold. This notion, which is so generally prevalent among the Orientals, is an evident proof of how much the symbols of religion and philosophy have at all times been perverted by the common people. The astronomers of all ages have been wont to distinguish the two points of intersection, upon which every eclipse happens, and which are called the "Lunar Nodes," by marking them with a dragon's head and tail. Now the vul-

gar, who are equally ignorant in every part of the world, took the symbol or sign for the thing itself. Thus, when the astronomers said that the sun was in the dragon's head, the common people said that the dragon was going to swallow the sun; and yet these common people were remarkable for their fondness for astrology. But while we laugh at the ignorance and credulity of the Indians, we do not reflect that there are no less than three hundred thousand almanacs sold in Europe, all filled with observations and predictions equally as false and absurd as any to be met with among the Indians; and is it not as reasonable to say that the sun is in the mouth or the claws of a dragon, as to tell people every year, in print, that they must not sow, nor plant, nor take physic, nor be bled, except on certain days of the moon? It is high time, in an age like ours, that some men of learning should think it worth their while to compose a calendar that might be of real use to the industrious husbandman, and instruct instead of deceiving him.

We are told by a missionary of undoubted credit that in 1710 forty wives of the prince of Marava threw themselves alive on his funeral pile, and were burned with the corpse of their lord. The same author also says that in 1717 two princes of that country having died, seventeen wives of one and thirteen of the other, immolated themselves; and that the last, being with child, waited till she was delivered, and then threw herself into the flames.

The missionary adds, further, that these examples are more frequent among the principal castes, or classes, than among the lower people; and this we find confirmed by other missionaries. The contrary would seem the more probable, for the wives of the grandees have more to attach them to life than the wives of craftsmen, or of hard-working men; but unhappily, a notion of honor has been annexed to these voluntary sacrifices, and as women of rank are more susceptible of a love of glory than the vulgar, and as the Brahmins always claim the garments and ornaments worn by the unhappy victims on such occasions they have found it much more to their interest to encourage this delusion in the rich than in the poor.

PERSIA.

Among the many causes of complaint alleged by the Persians against their enemies, the Turks, the chief has always been the murder of Alee, though the Turks certainly were not the murderers of that prophet, as there were no such people as Turks then existing. But in this manner do the common people in general reason; and it is surprising that they did not sooner take advantage of this mutual hatred to establish a new sect.

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

After the death of Tuman-bai, or Toman Bey, the last king of the Mamelukes, the people of Egypt sank into the lowest state of abjection; and they who are said to have been a brave and warlike race in the reign of Sesostris, are now more effeminate and dastardly than even in the time of Cleopatra. We are told that Egypt gave birth to the sciences, and now not one is cultivated there; that her people were sedate and grave, now they are volatile and unthinking, dancing and singing to the music of their own chains; her inhabitants, who are said to have been innumerable, are now reduced to three millions at the most. Neither Rome nor Athens has experienced a greater change than this country, which is an undeniable proof that, though a climate may have some influence on the dispositions of men, yet the government has a much greater.

THE BARBARY COAST.

A late dey of Algiers said to an English consul who was complaining to him of some prizes his corsairs had made: "Never complain to the captain of a gang that you have been robbed." Throughout all the northern parts of Africa we continually meet with monuments of the ancient

Romans, whereas there are not the least footprints of anything belonging to the Christians, notwithstanding that there were many more bishoprics here than in France and Spain put together. There are two reasons to be assigned for this: the one is, that the very ancient structures of hard stone, or of marble and cement, withstand the attacks of time in a dry climate better than the more modern edifices; the other, that monuments with the inscription "*Diis Manibus*" on them, which the Barbarians do not understand, do not consequently awaken their displeasure so much as the sight of the symbols of the Christian religion, to which they are such bitter enemies.

In the polite ages of Arabia the arts and sciences flourished among the Numidians. At present those people cannot so much as regulate their year, and though perpetually exercising the trade of pirates, they have not one pilot capable of taking an observation, nor one good shipbuilder among them. They even buy their ships, cordage, guns, and gunpowder of us Christians, and in particular of the Dutch, and with these they afterward take our merchant ships, while the powers of Christendom, instead of uniting to crush their common enemy, are busied in destroying one another.

FEZ AND MOROCCO.

The empire of Fez and Morocco reaches to the frontiers of Guinea, in a most pleasant climate; few territories are richer and more fruitful, or abound with greater variety. Several branches of Mount Atlas are full of mines, and the level country produces a great abundance of all kinds of grain, and some of the best fruits in the world. This country was formerly cultivated as it deserved. This must have been under the first caliphs, since we find the arts and sciences were then in high estimation, and these are generally the last matters attended to. The Moors and Arabians of this country carried their arts and their arms with them into Spain, but everything has since degenerated and fallen into a state of ignorance and barbarism. The Mahometan Arabians, who civilized this country, have since retired into the deserts, where they lead a pastoral life, and the government has been left to the Moors, a race of men less favored by nature than their climate, and less industrious than the Arabians — a people at once cruel and slavish. Here we find despotic power reigning in all its horrors. The ancient custom which compels the Miramolins, or emperors of Morocco, to be the chief executioners in their kingdom, has not a little contributed to make the inhabitants of this vast empire infinitely greater savages than the Mexicans. Those of Tetuan are

a little more civilized, but the remainder of this nation are a disgrace to human nature. Several of the Jews driven out of Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella took refuge with their families in Tetuan, Mekinez, and Morocco, where they lead the most miserable lives. The inhabitants of the northern provinces have intermixed with the blacks who live about the banks of the Niger.

There have been religious disputes in this kingdom, as well as in all others, and a sect of Mussulmans, who pretended to be more orthodox than the others, disposed of the throne, which never happened at Constantinople. There have been also some civil wars, but at length the dominions of Fez, Morocco, and Tasilet were united into one empire in the seventeenth century, after the famous victory gained by the Moors over the unfortunate Don Sebastian, king of Portugal.

Notwithstanding the great degree of brutal stupidity into which this people are fallen, the Spaniards and Portuguese have never yet been able to take vengeance on them for their former slavery, and subject them in their turn. Oran, which is the frontier of their empire toward Spain, though once taken by Cardinal Ximenes, and again by the duke of Montemar, in the reign of Philip V. (since which time it has remained in the hands of the Spaniards), has not opened them a way to further conquests. Tangier, which might be the key of the empire, has never proved of any use to them: and lastly,

Ceuta, taken by the Portuguese in 1409, and afterward by the Spaniards — in the reign of Philip II.— who have kept it ever since, has been only a dead expense to them. Thus we find that the Moors subdued all Spain, whereas the Spaniards have as yet been able only to vex the Moors; and after having crossed the Atlantic Ocean, and conquered a new world, they have not the power to avenge themselves within five leagues of their own kingdom. The Moors, though badly armed, worse disciplined, and slaves to the most detestable of all governments, have hitherto bidden defiance to all the attempts of the Christians to subject them. The true cause seems to lie in the constant dissensions of the latter among themselves. How, for instance, could the Spaniards cross over to Barbary with a force sufficient to subdue the Mussulmans, when they had their neighbors, the French, to fight against? Or, when at peace and in union with France, how could they engage in such an expedition, when the English had taken Gibraltar and Minorca from them?

It is somewhat extraordinary that there should be so great a number of Spanish, French, and English renegades in the empire of Morocco. We find a Spaniard of the name of Perez admiral under Muley Ismail; a Frenchman, named Pilet, governor of Salee; an Irish woman mistress to the tyrant Ismail; and some natives of England settled as merchants at Tetuan. The hopes of making

a fortune among an ignorant people has always carried Europeans to Africa, Asia, and America, particularly the latter. The contrary reason keeps the people of those regions from visiting us.

DEATH OF HENRY III.

The name of Herod, which was given to Henry III., was not due to any resemblance between him and that petty prince of Palestine, but only because the common people, having heard that Herod had caused all the young children in his country to be put to death, therefore thought this a proper appellation for Henry, whom they looked upon as a tyrant, while they considered his murderer, Clément, as a saint and a martyr.

In almost every Catholic country — Venice excepted — the crime committed by James Clément was looked upon as a most meritorious act. The Jesuit Mariana, who passes for a wise and grave historian, expresses himself thus in his book "Of the Institution of Laws"; "James Clément raised to himself a great name; here murder was atoned by murder, and the king's blood was shed as a sacrifice to the manes of the duke of Guise, who had been assassinated by his orders. Thus died James Clément, at the age of 24, a man who will forever be the glory of France." The French carried their enthusiastic folly so far as to cause the picture of this murderer to be placed on the altars, with these words beneath: "St. James Clément, pray for us."

The true form of the sentence passed upon the dead body of this assassin was for a long time unknown. He was prosecuted by the marquis de Richelieu, grand provost of France, and father of Cardinal Richelieu; and Attorney-General La Guèle, who was present when the murder was committed, and who had himself introduced Clément to the deceased king, did not appear in the character of his office on this trial, but only as a person who came there to give evidence in common with others. It was Henry IV. who pronounced the sentence himself, by which the body of the monk was ordered to be quartered and burned; the sentence was passed with the advice of his council, and signed "*Rusé.*"

Another circumstance which has not been known hitherto is that another Jacobin monk named Jean le Roy, having murdered the commandant of Coutance in Normandy, Henry IV. tried this miscreant the same day that he tried Clément; and sentenced Jean le Roy to be sewed up in a sack, and thrown into the river; which sentence was executed at St. Cloud, two days after. Both the sentence and the punishment were very uncommon, but the crimes which occasioned them were still more horrible.

HENRY IV.

What does Bayle mean by beginning his article of Henry IV. with saying that if he had been made a eunuch when he was young, he might have eclipsed the glory of Alexander and of Cæsar. Does he pre-

tend by that to insinuate that to be a great man one must be only half a man; or was he ignorant how many great leaders have joined love with war? Charles XII. was the only one of all those who have gained themselves fame by their arms who absolutely renounced all connections with the fair sex; and he met with more ill fortune than success. Not that I have any inclination, in a work of this serious kind, to flatter the idle gallantry which has long been the reproach of the French nation. I mean only to enforce this great truth, that nature, who gives us all our qualifications, does almost always deny strength and courage to those who have been deprived of the insignia of manhood, or, at least, who have them imperfectly formed. Nature is the same through all the creation: it is not the ox, but the bull, who fights. The powers both of body and mind depend on this source of existence. We find only one general, Narses, who was a eunuch, and only two learned men, Origen and Photius. Henry IV. was frequently in love, and sometimes foolishly so; but he was never effeminate. The fair Gabrielle calls him, in her letters, "my soldier." This appellation alone is sufficient to refute Bayle.

The Jesuit Jouvency acknowledges in his history that Nigri, superior of the novices of that order in Paris, assembled all of them in France, and led them to meet the pope's army at Verdun; into which he incorporated them; and that this army

marked its progress through the kingdom by the most terrible devastations. This circumstance sufficiently shows the spirit of those times.

The monks might then indeed, with some reason, say in their writings that the pope had a right to depose kings, since he was on the point of establishing that right by the sword.

You will remark that the parliament wanted to sit in the general assembly of the states by deputation or proxy, and that they could not obtain it. You will remark also that this very parliament had just before ordered an arret of the king's parliament, held at Châlons, against the pope's legate and his pretended power of presiding at the election of a king of France, to be burned by the hands of the common hangman.

Much about the same time, several of the citizens having presented a petition to the city and parliament, desiring that the king might at least be pressed to embrace the Roman Catholic religion, before they proceeded to the election; the Sorbonne declare this petition "unfit, seditious, impious, and idle, inasmuch as they well know the obstinacy of Henry the apostate," at the same time excommunicating the authors of the petition, and banishing them from the city. This decree, which was written in very bad Latin, and was certainly the production of weak and superstitious minds, is dated Nov. 1, 1592. It was afterward revoked, though of very little signifi-

cation whether it was or not; but had not Henry IV. enjoyed the crown it would have continued in force, and Philip II. would have been loaded with the appellations of protector of France and of the Church.

While Henry's adversaries were employing the sword and pen, politics and superstition, against him, and during the sitting of the assembly of the states, which was as tumultuous and divided as it was irregular, Henry was at the gates of Paris, and threatened to reduce it.

Henry IV. had about his person a private envoy from Queen Elizabeth, who, in a letter he wrote to his royal mistress, concerning the king's changing his religion, has these very words:

"The following is the manner in which the king excuses himself, on account of his change of religion, and the very words in which he expressed himself to me:

"'When I came to the crown eight hundred gentlemen and nine regiments left my service, on pretence that I was a heretic; the Leaguers immediately set about choosing another king, and the most powerful of them offered their services to the duke of Guise, whereupon I determined, after mature deliberation, to embrace the Romish religion, and by that step I have entirely won over the third party, have prevented the election of the duke of Guise, and have gained the good-will of the people of

France. I have had the promise of the duke of Florence in regard to some matters of great importance and have finally prevented the reformed religion from being entirely rooted out.' "

Henry sent the Sieur Morland, his ambassador, to the queen of England, to inform her of what had passed, and to make his excuses to her as well as he could. Morland tells us that Elizabeth made him this reply: "Is it possible, then, that any worldy consideration can have made the king, your master, lay aside the fear of God!" When we hear the murderess of Mary Stuart talking of the fear of God, we cannot help thinking the character of a hypocrite, which has been given her by most historians, to be too true; but when we hear the brave and generous Henry declaring that he had changed his religion merely for the good of his country, which should be the governing principle with all crowned heads, we cannot doubt that he spoke from his heart. How then can the Jesuit Daniel offer so glaring an insult to truth, and to the understanding of his readers, as to assert, even against all probability, a cloud of witnesses, and the principles of the human mind, that Henry IV. had been long a Catholic in his heart? Once more I must repeat that the count de Boulainvilliers was perfectly in the right when he asserted that no Jesuit could be a faithful historian.

The ambassadors of Philip II. left Paris the very

day that Henry made his entry into that city, without having the least violence offered to their persons; only the king, who saw them passing by a window, where he was standing, called out to them: "Gentlemen, pray give my compliments to your master, but I desire never to see you here again."

Several politicians have pretended that when Henry IV. had secured the mastery, he should have imitated Queen Elizabeth, and have entirely separated his nation from the Romish communion. They furthermore say that the balance of Europe inclined too much in favor of Philip II. of Spain and the Catholics, and that to have kept this balance equal, he should have made France Protestant as the only means of rendering them a numerous, rich, and powerful people.

But Henry IV. was not in the same situation as Elizabeth; he had not a well-disciplined army at command, nor the parliament of the nation in his interests. Moreover, he was in want of money; he had but few troops to withstand Philip II., who was always ready to attack him, and the Leaguers were still powerful and in high spirits.

It was a thing highly worthy of admiration that Henry IV., notwithstanding the exhausted and desolated state in which he found the kingdom, should, in less than fifteen years, have been able to ease the burden of the *taille* by nearly four millions of the cur-

rency of his time, which would make ten of ours; to lessen the other duties one-half, and to pay off a hundred millions of the crown debts, which would make two hundred millions of the present money. He redeemed lands which are now alienated to the amount of more than a hundred millions; all the strong places were fortified, the magazines and arsenals well filled, and the highways repaired; all which is to the immortal glory of the duke of Sully, and of his royal master, who had the happy boldness to make choice of a soldier to repair the disorders in the public finances; and who did not disdain to labor in concert with the minister of his choice.

About the time that Henry IV. was murdered, there was published an apology for John Châtel, in which it is said that the attempt was a virtuous, heroic, and meritorious act; and worthy to be compared to the noblest deeds recorded in sacred or profane history. "There is but one thing can be found fault with," adds the apologist, "which is, that Châtel did not complete what he had begun, by sending the apostate to his proper place with Judas."

This apology clearly shows the reason why Guignard could never be brought to ask forgiveness of the king was that he did not look upon him as king. "The constancy of this holy man," says the author of the apology, "would never suffer him to acknowledge one whom the Church did not acknowledge; and although the judges condemned

his body to be burned, and his ashes scattered in the air, yet will his blood never cease to cry out against his murderers, before the throne of the God of Hosts, who will not fail to repay their wickedness seven-fold upon their heads."

Such was the spirit of the League and of the priests in those days; and such the terrible abuse made of religion, which was so ill understood; an abuse which has continued even to the present time.

It is not long since a Jesuit, named La Croix, who was professor of divinity in Cologne, reprinted with notes a book of one of the ancient Jesuits, called Besenbaum, which would have remained as much unknown as the author and his commentator if they had unhappily served to revive the detestable doctrine of murder and regicide.

It is said in this work that any person outlawed by a prince cannot be lawfully put to death anywhere but in the dominions of such prince; but that a crowned head, excommunicated by the pope, may be murdered wherever he is found, inasmuch as the pope is sovereign lord of the universe; and that anyone having orders to slay an excommunicated person, be he who he will, may delegate his charge to another, and that it is an act of charity to accept of such charge.

It is true that the parliaments of France condemned this abominable book; and the Jesuits of that kingdom probably declared their abhorrence of the doctrine it contained; but, on the other hand, a new

edition of this book, which has lately appeared with additions, sufficiently shows that these infernal tenets have been long ingrafted in a number of minds; that they have been looked on as points of our holy religion; and that consequently the laws cannot exert themselves with too much rigor against the teachers and abettors of this vile doctrine of king-killing.

Everyone knows that Ravaillac was a novice, in an order of begging friars of St. Bernard, who were still infatuated with the fanatic spirit of the Leaguers, and that this infamous miscreant was abandoned to superstition, and all manner of vice. Counsellor Matthew, historiographer of France, who held a long conversation with him in his little Hôtel de Retz, near the Louvre, tells us that this wretch had been for several years under a strong temptation to murder the king. A counsellor of the parliament asked him in the same hotel, and in the presence of Matthew, how he dared to lift his hand against the most Christian king? "It is first to be known," replied he, "if he is most Christian."

The irresistible force of destiny shows itself more plainly in this event than in almost any other we read of. A country schoolmaster, without forming a conspiracy, without having an accomplice, or being the least interested in what he did, kills Henry, in the midst of his subjects, and changes the face of affairs in Europe.

The whole of the proceedings against him, which were printed in 1611, show that this man had in fact no other accomplices than the sermons of the preachers of those times, and the discourses of the monks. He was a great bigot, much given to mental and extempore prayer, and he pretended at times to have visions from heaven. He confessed that, after leaving the Feuillants, he had frequently a desire to take the Jesuits' habit. He also confessed that his first design had been only to persuade the king to banish the reformed religion out of France; and that once in the Christmas holidays, seeing the king pass in his coach through the same street where he afterward murdered him, he cried out, as loud as he was able: "Sire, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the most holy Virgin Mary, I conjure you to let me speak to you;" but that the guards pushed him away from the coach; that then he returned to Angoulême, his birthplace, where he kept a school, and had eighty pupils, and, that during his stay there he frequently went to confession, and took the sacrament; and it appeared, from many proofs, that he conceived his hellish design in the midst of the most fanatic acts of devotion. His answer to the second interrogatory, in his examination, was this: "No one whatever either counselled or assisted me in perpetrating this deed; only that hearing the soldiers in general saying among themselves that if the king were to make war against the pope, they would assist him and lay down

their lives for his cause; therefore, and for that reason, I suffered myself to be led away by the strong desire I felt to kill the king, because, in my opinion, making war against the pope was making war on God, inasmuch as the pope is God and God is the pope." Thus we find everything concurs to prove to us that Henry IV. was in fact the victim of a horrible prejudice, which had, for a long time, blinded the understandings of mankind, and spread desolation over the face of the earth.

It has been confidently asserted that Henry's approaching death was talked of in the Low Countries long before the fatal blow was given. It is not at all astonishing that the partisans of the Catholic League, seeing the formidable army he was on the point of leading into the field, might say that nothing but the death of Henry could save them. They and the rest of the Leaguers undoubtedly wished for a second John Châtel to arise; we easily pass from desire to hope, this hope will break forth in expressions, and these are wafted abroad; something of this kind had reached the ears of Ravaillac, and determined him to put his bloody purpose in execution.

It is certain also that it had been told to Henry that he should die in his coach. This notion arose from the great dread this prince, otherwise so intrepid, was always under of being overturned, when in any wheel-carriage. This natural weakness was looked on by astrologers as a foreboding,

an omen; and this notion of theirs, formed at random, was verified by the most improbable of all events.

CARDINAL RICHELIEU'S ADMINISTRATION.

Louis XIII. insisted that his brother's marriage with Margaret of Lorraine should be annulled. Gaston had only a daughter by his first wife, the heiress of Montpensier. Now if the heir presumptive of the crown persisted in his second marriage, and a son should be born of it, the king wanted to have this son declared a bastard, and incapable of inheriting the crown.

This was an absolute violation of all religion, laws, and customs; but as religion can only be instituted for the good of a state, it is certain, that when its customs are hurtful or dangerous, they should be abolished.

It is a matter not very worthy of attention that there should be only twenty persons found to purchase the twenty-four new judges' seats; but what will serve to show us the spirit of mankind, and especially of Frenchmen, is that these newly created members were a long time despised and hated by the whole body; that, in the war of the League, they were obliged to pay fifteen thousand livres each, to obtain the good graces of their brethren, by contributions to a war against the government; that,

as we shall see hereafter, this got them the nickname of the *Quinze-vingt,* or the fifteen twenties. Lastly, when an attempt was made to lay aside these useless members, the parliament, who cried out against their being first introduced, as mere supernumeraries, exclaimed as loudly against their being suppressed. Thus are the same things well or ill received, according to the spirit of the times, and the remedy is frequently as much complained of as the disease.

THE JESUIT CAUSSIN.

This Jesuit advised Louis XIII. to put the kingdom under the protection of the Virgin Mary, in order to sanctify the king's amours with Mademoiselle de la Fayette, which was looked on only as a union of minds in which the senses had very little share. The good father's advice was followed, and Cardinal Richelieu put this project in practice the following year, while Caussin celebrated in wretched doggerel at Quimper-Corentin, the particular regard the Virgin had for the kingdom of France. The house of Austria happened to have the Virgin for its patroness likewise, so that our holy lady must have been extremely put to it which of them to serve, had it not been that the Swedes and the duke of Weimar were Protestants.

Observe that you will never meet with any great

troubles in history, or any intrigues of council, without the confessors of kings having a hand in them, which often ends in their own disgrace. For instance, a prince has the weakness to consult his confessor on state affairs — and by the bye this is one of the greatest inconveniences attending auricular confession. The confessor, who is almost always of some one party, endeavors to make his royal penitent consider the views of this party as the will of God. The minister soon comes to the knowledge of these artifices, upon which the confessor is disgraced, and another is taken in his place, who practises the very same.

When it came to be perceived how full the pretended testament of Cardinal Richelieu was of errors in chronology and topography, false computations, and the most absurd and ignorant assertions, such as, for instance, that France had a greater number of ports in the Mediterranean than Spain, and chiefly, that in all this spurious work there was not the least mention made of the manner in which it was proper to carry on the war in which the French monarchy was then engaged, this famous production became as much despised as it was before admired.

SPAIN UNDER PHILIP IV.

Spain has suffered so great a depopulation that Don Ustariz, a famous statesman, who wrote in

HERNANDO CORTES

HERNÁN CORTÉS

1723, for the good of his country, reckons the number of inhabitants at that time, not to amount to more than seven millions, or about a third of what are in France; and while he laments the great decrease of useful subjects in that state, he at the same time complains that the number of monks in the kingdom had almost always continued the same. He also confesses that the revenues of the masters of the mines of Mexico and of Peru did not amount to eighty millions of livres of the present money — about three millions and a half sterling.

After the death of Philip IV., which happened in 1666, Spain was very unfortunate. Mary of Austria, widow of the deceased king, and sister of the emperor Leopold, was regent during the minority of Don Carlos, or Charles, the second of that name, his son. Her regency was not so distracted as that of Anne of Austria in France; but they had this melancholy conformity with each other; the queen of Spain drew upon herself the hatred of the whole nation by giving the administration into the hands of a foreign priest, as the queen of France made all her people her enemies by subjecting them to the yoke of an Italian cardinal; the principal grandees opposed the ministers in both states, and the interior government was equally ill conducted in one and the other.

The prime minister, who governed the Spanish nation for some time during the minority of Charles II., was the Jesuit Evrard Nitard, a German, con-

fessor to the queen, and Grand Inquisitor of the kingdom. The incompatibility which religion seems to have placed between the monastic vow and ministerial intrigues soon raised a general murmur against this Jesuit.

The character of Nitard added not a little to the public indignation against him. Though he was very capable of ruling over the mind of his penitent, he was by no means fit to hold the reins of government in a state, having nothing of the minister or the priest, but pride and ambition, even without the necessary covering of dissimulation. He one day had the insolence to say to the duke of Lerma, "It is you who owe respect to me, who have every day your God in my hands, and your queen at my feet." With this pride, so opposite to true greatness, he suffered the treasury to be emptied, all the strong places in the kingdom to fall to ruin, the ports to be left without shipping, and the forces without discipline, and without any leaders capable of commanding them. This negligence of his, more especially, contributed to the first advantages which Louis XIV. gained over his brother-in-law and mother-in-law, when he attacked them in 1667, and took from them one-half of Flanders, and all Franche-Comté.

A party was formed against the Jesuit minister, as in France against Cardinal Mazarin; and Nitard found in Don John of Austria, natural son of Philip IV., as implacable an enemy as the great Condé was

to the cardinal. Condé was imprisoned. Don John was banished. These disputes gave rise to two factions that divided the Spanish nation, but without a civil war, which, however, was just on the point of breaking out, when the queen prevented it by banishing Nitard — though much against her will — as Queen Anne of Austria was obliged to discharge Mazarin. But this latter returned more powerful than ever, whereas, Nitard, who was dismissed in 1667, could never again get footing in Spain. The reason was, that the queen regent had taken another confessor in his stead, who opposed the return of his predecessor; whereas the queen of France had no minister near her to supply the place of Mazarin.

Nitard went to Rome, where he in vain solicited a cardinal's hat, which is seldom bestowed on disgraced ministers, and was obliged to live a retired life, very little countenanced by his brethren, who indeed are seldom fond of a person who has raised himself above their level. But at length, by his own assiduity, and the good offices of the queen of Spain, he obtained his hat, which is so much the darling object of all churchmen; and now his brother Jesuits were by the ears who should first pay their court to him.

The reign of Charles II. of Spain was as weak as that of Philip III. and IV., as you will see in "The Age of Louis XIV."

ITALY IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

Pope Pius IV. sent a body of troops into France, to assist Charles IX. against the Huguenots. These troops were at the battle of Moncontour. To so low an ebb was the French government at that time fallen, that two thousand of the pope's soldiers were looked upon as a very valuable assistance.

SWEDEN AND POLAND.

Here is another strange vicissitude and contrast in the affairs of the North. Sweden, which was so despotically governed of late, became the most independent kingdom in the world, and that in which the king is most dependent on his people; while, on the contrary, Denmark, where the king had formerly no more authority than a doge, and where the sovereign power was vested in the nobles, and the common people were all slaves, has, since 1661, been the most absolute monarchy upon the earth. The clergy and the burghers chose rather to submit to an absolute sovereign than to a hundred nobles, every one of whom was for having the chief command. Accordingly they obliged the nobles to become subjects as well as themselves, and to invest Frederick III. with an unlimited monarchy. Thus he was the only monarch in the universe who, by the formal consent of all the orders of the kingdom,

was acknowledged as absolute master of the people and the laws, "which he might either make, annul, or neglect, according to his own will." This formidable power was committed into his hand in a juridical manner, and happily his successors have not abused it. They have been sensible that their true greatness consisted in the happiness of their subjects. Sweden and Denmark have cultivated trade by methods diametrically opposite to each other; the former by making themselves free, the latter by giving up their liberties.

SABATEI SEVI.

It is a standing tradition among the Jews, that the Shiloh or Messiah, their avenger and king, is not to appear till the coming of Elias; and they are persuaded that they have had one Elias, who is to appear again at the renewing of the world. This Elias has, by some learned persons, been taken for the sun, on account of the conformity between this name and *"Elios,"* which in Greek signifies the sun; as also from the story of Elias or Elijah being carried up to heaven in a fiery chariot, drawn by four horses, which has a great resemblance to the poetical fiction of the chariot of the sun and his four horses. But without employing our time in such researches, or examining whether the Hebrew books were written after the time of Alexander, when the Jewish factors residing in Alexandria had learned

something of the Grecian mythology, it is sufficient to remark that the Jews have been in expectation of the coming of Elias from time immemorial; and to this very day, when these deluded people perform the ceremony of circumcision on a new-born infant, they always place a chair for Elias, in case he should please to honor them with his presence. Elias, according to them, is to introduce the great sabbath, the great Messiah, and the general revolution of all things. This notion has been received among Christians. The Elias is to come to declare the dissolution of this world, and a new order of things. Almost all the different sects of fanatics expect an Elias. The prophets of the Cévennes, who came to London in 1707, to raise the dead, pretended to have seen Elias, and to have spoken to him; and that he was to show himself to the people. In 1724, the magistrate of the police sent two Eliases to prison, who fought with each other who should be accounted the true one. It was therefore absolutely necessary for Sabatei Sevi to set out with declaring himself to be the Messiah, otherwise his pretended mission would have been treated as an imposture.

He met with one Nathan, a Jewish rabbi, who thought there was something to be gained by playing a part in this farce. Accordingly Sabatei declared to the Jews of Asia Minor and Syria, that this Nathan was Elias, and Nathan on his part

insisted that Sabatei was the Messiah, the Shiloh, expected by the chosen people.

THE SIEGE OF VIENNA.

It has been the custom of all the princes, from Constantinople to the farther limits of Asia, always to keep a treasure by them as a resource in times of war or other necessity. They are unacquainted with the method of raising money on extraordinary supplies, or by the creation or sale of offices, government securities, or annuities. The circulation of specie and public credit are things unknown among them, and these potentates content themselves with amassing all the gold, silver, or jewels, they possibly can. This had been the custom in the East ever since the time of Cyrus: and Kara Mustapha, the Turkish vizier, thought it was the same with the emperors of Germany.

CHINA.

The emperor Yon-tching, successor to Cam-hi, when he drove the European missionaries out of his empire, spoke to them in the following manner; which they have had the honesty to relate in their "Letters Curious and Edifying:"

"What would you say if I were to send a number of bonzes and lamas into your country? How would you receive them? If you have found means to

impose on my father, do not think I will suffer you to deceive me in the same manner. You would have my Chinese embrace your religion; now I very well know that you will not permit of any worship different from your own: what then must become of me and my people? The subjects of your princes, and the disciples whom you make, acknowledge no other authority than yours. In times of trouble and distraction they are wholly guided by your voices. I am sensible that at present we have nothing to fear; but when your vessels shall find the way hither by thousands, times of trouble and distraction may ensue."

The very Jesuits who give us an account of this speech acknowledge with every other writer, that this emperor was one of the wisest and most generous princes that ever ascended a throne. His whole study was to relieve the necessities of the poor, by setting them to work; to enforce the observance of the laws, by setting the example himself; to check the ambition and intrigues of the bonzes; to maintain peace and plenty throughout his empire; and to cultivate and encourage all the useful arts, especially agriculture. During his reign the public edifices, the high roads, and the canals, which form a communication between all the principal rivers of the empire, were supported with a magnificence and economy of which there has been no example but among the ancient Romans.

ROME.

Several of the French bishops, in the year 1682, laid aside the form of styling themselves such by the divine permission, which was altogether unknown to the first ages of Christianity; and in 1754, a bishop had the noble resolution to omit it entirely in a mandate which was to be handed down to posterity; and is the only one that expressly asserts what no supreme pontiff ever yet ventured to declare; namely, that all men, even infidels, are our brethren.

The pope has retained, in every Roman Catholic state, certain prerogatives, which he undoubtedly would not have obtained, had not time put him in possession of them.

THE THIRD CIVIL WAR.

The finances in France had, ever since the death of the great Henry IV., been as badly managed as in Spain and Germany. The administration was a perfect chaos, and ignorance and rapine lorded it over the land: the latter of these was not, indeed, so extensive, nor had it such considerable objects as at present. The government was not the eighth part so much in debt as it now is; it had not armies of two hundred thousand men to keep in pay; it had not immense subsidies to bestow, nor a

war by sea to support. The revenues of the government amounted in the first years of the regency to nearly seventy-five millions of livres of those days. This would have been enough to meet all calls, if there had been any economy in the ministry; but in 1646 and the following year, they were in want of new supplies. The superintendent of the finances at that time was Emeric, a peasant of Sienna, who had a soul more mean than his birth, and who, by his insolence and licentiousness, irritated the whole nation against him. This man invented schemes for raising money, equally ridiculous and burdensome. He created places of comptrollers of firewood, sworn sellers of hay, wine-carriers of the king's council, and made a public sale of letters of nobility. The annuities on the town house of Paris did not then amount to more than eleven millions; the annuitants were obliged to give up several quarters; additional duties were laid on all imports, and several new places of *maîtres des requêtes* created; and besides all this, about eighty thousand crowns were kept back out of the salaries of the magistrates.

It may easily be imagined that the minds of the people were greatly irritated against two Italians, who had come into France without any fortune, had enriched themselves at the expense of the nation, and who by their conduct had rendered themselves so justly obnoxious. The Parliament of Paris, the *maîtres des requêtes,* all the other courts, and the

annuitants, joined together to oppose them. Mazarin took away the post of superintendent from his confidant Emeric, and banished him to one of his estates at a distance from Paris; but this sacrifice came too late; everyone loudly complained that such a man should have any estates in France, and Mazarin himself was universally detested, though at that very time he had put the finishing hand to the Peace of Münster. For we must observe that this famous treaty, and the barricades, happened in the same year, 1648.

The civil wars in Paris began, like those in London, about a trifling sum of money.

THE DUKE OF BEAUFORT.

The duchess of Nemours, in her "Memoirs," tells us that the prince of Condé presented a little crook-backed dwarf, armed cap-a-pie, to the queen, saying: "Behold the generalissimo of the Parisian forces." These words were designed as a reflection on his brother, the prince of Conti, who was deformed, and whom the Parisians had chosen to head them. Nevertheless, Condé himself was afterward general of the same troops; and Madame de Nemours adds that she often heard him declare that this whole war deserved to be written only in doggerel verse.

THE DEATH OF CROMWELL.

I do not know whether it is true that Cromwell played the enthusiast and prophet on his deathbed, by telling his physicians that he was certain that

God would work a miracle in his favor. His secretary, Thurloe, tells us that his words were: "Nature can do more than the physicians." This was not talking like an enthusiast, but like a man of understanding. It might so happen that, from a conviction of the possibility of the physicians being mistaken in their judgment, he had a mind, in case he should recover, to give the people a higher opinion of his sanctity, and thereby render his person more respected, and even sacred.

THE DEATH OF CONDE.

It is a current story, but such as merits our contempt, that Montecuculi resigned the command of the army after the death of Turenne, alleging that he had no longer any rival worthy to contend with. This would have been a very foolish assertion, even if the great Condé had not been living. But, so far from expressing himself in this ridiculous manner, which has been as ridiculously imputed to him as an honor, he actually fought against the French, and compelled them to repass the Rhine, that very same year. Besides, what general who had the command of an army would say to his master: "I will serve you no longer because your enemies are too weak, and I have too great a superiority of merit."

COLBERT AND FOUQUET.

It was the League and the war of Paris that first set a price on places in the courts of judicature;

and as it was one of the greatest faults and misfortunes of a government, for a long time overwhelmed with debt, that France should be the only nation in the world where the office of a judge is venal; so, on the other hand, it is the consequence of the old leaven of sedition, and a kind of insult to the crown, that the place of king's attorney should cost more than the first dignities of the state.

We should never be the dupes of those premeditated answers or public speeches, which the heart frequently disavows. Colbert was outwardly a man of moderation; but it is incontestable that he labored with the most cruel assiduity to take Fouquet's life. The same person may be a good minister and of a vindictive spirit. It is to be regretted that he was not as generous as he was vigilant.

But the most implacable of Fouquet's persecutors was the person appointed for his judge, Michael Letellier, the chancellor, who behaved to him with the greatest cruelty, when he went to examine him in the Bastille, and who did all in his power to get him capitally condemned. Therefore, when we read the funeral oration of this chancellor, spoken by Bossuet, and compare it with his conduct, what can we think, except that a funeral oration is no other than a common harangue?

ST. ÉVREMOND.

When Louis XIV. sent St. Évremond leave to return to his own country, at the latter end of his life, the philosopher scorned to accept this permission as a favor, and by his example showed that every man's country is that in which he can live the happiest: his was England.

LOUIS XIV.

It is a known anecdote that Louis XIV. having proposed to place Pelletier at the head of the exchequer, after the death of Colbert, Letellier told his majesty that he was not a proper person for that office. "And why so?" demanded the king. "Because, sir," answered Letellier, "his disposition is not harsh enough." "But do you know," replied the king, "that I want not to have my people treated harshly?" This new minister was indeed a good and just man; but when, in 1688, France was again involved in a war, and had to defend itself against the effort of the League of Augsburg; that is to say, against the joint forces of almost all Europe, he found himself loaded with a burden that would have proved too heavy even for the shoulders of Colbert. In this exigency, the easy and unhappy expedient of borrowing on annuities was the first he had recourse to. He afterward attempted to lay a restriction on

luxury, which, in a kingdom abounding in manufactures, is putting a check to industry, and the circulation of money; and this is never to be done, but in a nation which pays foreigners for the articles of luxury.

At this time also we meet with one of those unpardonable faults in an administration, which have been corrected but of late years; I mean the debasing of the current coin, and by an unequal valuation making the crowns of less intrinsic value than the quarts; by which means all the latter were bought up, and carried into foreign countries, where they were melted down again, and cast into crowns, and afterward returned to France, to the great loss of that kingdom, and the gain of others. A country must be very strong in itself to stand the force of such repeated shocks, and yet preserve its credit; but the ministry was at that time ignorant. The finances were then like the metaphysics — a mere conjectural science, and the contractors were a set of impudent impostors, who cheated the ministry. The government sustained a loss of eighty millions by this management — a loss which required over twenty years to repair.

They were continually obliged to have recourse to extraordinaries, as they are called. They created ridiculous posts, which are always eagerly purchased by those who are desirous to be exempted

from the *taille,* a tax which carries with it a mark of debasement in France; and as men are by nature inclined to be vain, they are almost always the dupes of any scheme that excuses them from this. Moreover, the salaries annexed to these places are another allurement to those to become purchasers in times of necessity, who do not reflect that these places will be suppressed as soon as matters are on a better footing. Thus, in 1707, the ministry invented the dignity of king's counsellors, brokers, and dealers in wine, which brought in one hundred and eighty thousand livres. They likewise created the imaginary offices of king's registers, and subdelegates to the intendants of provinces; king's counsellors, comptrollers of fire-wood, counsellors of the police, barber peruke makers, comptroller visitants of fresh butter, and tasters of salt butter. These extravagances make people smile nowadays, but they drew tears from all eyes in those times.

CALVINISM.

In the war of 1701, rebellion and fanaticism broke out in Languedoc and the neighboring parts. This rebellion was excited by the spirit of prophecy. Predictions have at all times been the means made use of to mislead simple people, and inflame the minds of bigots. If one only, out of a hundred events foretold by a daring impostor, comes to pass, through mere hazard, the rest that fail are buried in

oblivion; and this is looked on as a certain testimony of the favor of heaven, and the proof of a prodigy. If a prediction does not come to pass literally, it is explained away; it has a new sense given to it, which fanatics adopt and fools believe.

Jurieu, a Calvinist minister, was a most violent prophet. He began by setting himself above one Cotterus, a certain Christina, a Justus Velsius, and a Drabitius, whom he pretended to be persons inspired by God. He then put himself almost on a level with the author of Revelations, and St. Paul. His followers caused a medal to be struck in Holland, with this inscription on the exergue, "*Jurius Propheta.*" He foretold the deliverance of the people for over eight years. He established his schools for prophecy in the mountains of Dauphiny, and of Vivarais, and Cévennes; countries perfectly well adapted to such purposes: where the inhabitants are ignorant by nature, and have their imaginations heated by the warmth of the climate, and the enthusiastic discourses of their preachers.

The first of these schools was set up in a glass-house, on a mountain in Dauphiny, called *Peira.*

Brousson had laid a plan for introducing the English and Savoyard forces into Languedoc. This plan, written with his own hand, and addressed to the duke of Schomberg, had been intercepted some time before this, and was in the custody of the intendant of the province. Brousson, as he was wan-

dering from town to town, was seized at length at Oléron, and carried to the citadel of Montpellier, where he was kept closely confined. He was examined, while in prison, by the intendant and judge of the province, to whom he declared that he was an apostle of Jesus Christ, and had received the gift of the Holy Ghost; that therefore he dared not betray the faith committed to his charge, but was in duty bound to distribute the bread of the word to all his brethren. They asked if the apostles had written plans to stir up a province to rebellion, and thereupon exhibited to him a paper written with his own hand. After this he was unanimously condemned to be broken on the wheel. He died after the manner of the first martyrs. All those of his own sect, and even all foreigners, far from considering him as a criminal of state, saw in him only a saint, who had sealed the faith with his blood; and books were published with the title of "The Martyrdom of M. de Brousson."

JANSENISM.

Religion may yet sharpen the poniards of fanaticism. There is always in a nation a certain set of people, who hold no commerce with persons of honor and reputation, who are not of this age, nor are to be affected by the progress of reason in the human mind, and in whose souls fanaticism still exercises its baleful influence, like certain distempers, which are found only among the lower classes.

THE QUIETISTS.

La Combe, Madame Guyon's director, carried her with him to his little birthplace of Annecy, in Savoy. Even this was a very indecent step in a clergyman, to carry a young and handsome woman away out of her own country, but it has almost always been the custom of those who are desirous to establish a sect, to carry women with them.

THOUGHTS ON THE PANORAMA OF HISTORY.

A sensible reader will easily perceive that he is to credit such great events only as carry with them an air of probability, and that he should look with pity and contempt on all those fabulous relations with which fanaticism and the spirit of fiction and credulity have, in every age, loaded the history of the world.

Constantine triumphed over the emperor Maxentius; but most certainly the labarum, with its Greek inscription, never appeared to him in the clouds.

Clovis, yet reeking with the blood of those he had caused to be assassinated, turned Christian, and committed new murders; but no pigeon brought him an ampulla for his baptism, nor did an angel descend from heaven to present him with a standard.

A monk of Clairvaux might preach a crusade;

but a man must be more than an idiot to write or believe that God worked miracles by the hand of this monk, in behalf of this crusade, which at the same time proved so unsuccessful.

Louis VIII. of France might die of consumption; but no one except an ignorant fanatic could say that he might have been cured by the embraces of a young maiden, had he not chosen to die a martyr to his chastity.

History is in every nation disfigured by fiction, till the time when philosophy appeared to enlighten mankind; and when she rose on this worse than Egyptian darkness, she found the minds of men so blinded by many ages of error that she could with difficulty undeceive them; she found ceremonies, facts, and monuments established to consecrate falsehoods.

How, for instance, could any philosopher have been able to persuade the common people of Rome, assembled in the temple of Jupiter Stator, that this Jupiter never came down from heaven to stop the flight of the Roman legions? Or, how could he have attempted to deny, in the temple of Castor and Pollux, that these twin brothers had been seen fighting at the head of their armies? Would they not instantly have produced to him the stone on which the print of the feet of those gods was still to be seen? Would not the priests of Jupiter and of Pollux have said to him: "Incredulous wretch, you cannot but confess in beholding a rostral column,

that we have gained a naval victory, of which that column is a monument: acknowledge, therefore, that the gods came down to earth to fight in our behalf; and no longer blaspheme those miracles in presence of the monuments that bear witness to them." Such have, in all ages, been the arguments of imposture and credulity.

A crazy princess builds a chapel in honor of eleven thousand virgins. The priest of this chapel firmly believes that these eleven thousand virgins never had existence; and yet he stirs up the populace to stone the philosopher who disputes it.

Monuments are to be taken as proofs of facts only when those facts, probable in themselves, are transmitted to us by contemporary writers of wisdom and understanding.

The chronicles of the reign of Philip Augustus, and the abbey of La Victoire, are proofs of the battle of Bouvines; but when you see the famous group of Laocoon at Rome, are you from that to believe the fable of the Trojan horse? Or in viewing the hideous statues of a St. Denis, on the road to Paris, will those monuments of ignorance and credulity convince you that St. Denis walked more than a league with his head under his arm after it was cut off?

Most of those monuments that have been erected any length of time after the action they commemorate are at best but proofs of an error consecrated by time; nay, we may sometimes even doubt the

truth of medals that have been struck even at the time of an event; for we have seen the English, deceived by a false piece of news, strike a medal, with these words on the exergue: "Carthagena taken by Admiral Vernon;" and almost the next post brought them an account of that admiral's having raised the siege. If a nation so fruitful in wise and learned men could thus run the hazard of imposing on posterity, what are we to think of nations and times buried in the deepest ignorance?

We may safely credit those events attested by public registers, by the accounts of contemporary authors living in a capital, procuring lights from each other, and writing under the inspection of the principal persons of a nation. But for all those petty, dubious, and romantic facts, related by obscure writers, in the corner of some ignorant and uncivilized province, and those idle tales, filled with the most absurd and improbable circumstances, and with pretended miracles that are the disgrace of history instead of being its ornament, let us rank them with the works of Voragine, Caussin, Maimbourg, and others of their stamp.

It is easy to observe the great change of manners almost throughout the world, from the first irruptions of the barbarians to the present time. The arts, which soften the manners by improving them, began to revive in the twelfth century; but this dawn, being overcast by a cloud of the most absurd and infamous

superstitions, threw everything back into its pristine darkness; and these superstitions, having spread among the ignorant and brutal people of Europe, formed everywhere a mixture of barbarism and folly.

The Arabians civilized and improved Asia, Africa, and a part of Spain, till they were subdued by the Turks, and finally driven out by the Spaniards. Then ignorance took possession of these beautiful regions, and the manners of mankind became gloomy, fierce, and barbarous throughout one-half of our hemisphere.

The popes were, for several centuries, elected only by force of arms; and the people, and even their sovereigns, were so weak that an antipope of their own making was, from the instant of his creation, revered by them as the vicar of God, and infallible. If this infallible personage happened to be deposed, he lost his holiness with his dignity, and his successor inherited the tribute of their adoration. And these earthly deities, who were in their turns either murderers or murdered, poisoners or poisoned; who enriched their bastards with the spoils of states, while they condemned fornication; who fulminated their anathemas against tournaments, while they themselves were carrying on wars with excommunicated and deposed kings, and made the deluded people purchase the remission of their sins, were at once the scandal, the abhorrence, and the gods of the greatest part of Christendom.

You have seen how in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the monks and bishops raised themselves to the sovereign power and dignity, and were everywhere the heads of the feudal government. Here they established the most ridiculous customs, as gross as their own manners; such as the exclusive right of entering the church with a falcon on their hand; the right of employing husbandmen to beat their ponds, that a baron, a monk, or a bishop might not be disturbed by the croaking of the frogs; the right of passing the first night with the newly married wives of their vassals, and the right of levying fines on all traders being aliens — for at that time there were no traders in their own country.

You have also seen these sallies of ignorance and folly blended with the more bloody and fatal ones of religious wars.

Several princes, in endeavoring to release the vassals from the tyranny of their lords, attempted to bring the lords under the same kind of servitude, and this was the occasion of so many civil wars.

Were we to credit several writers, who adapt everything to their own ideas, we should be led to imagine that republican states are more virtuous and happy than the monarchical; but without considering the bloody wars that were so long carried on between the Genoese and Venetians, about the right of trading with the Mahometan nations, what troubles did not the republics of Venice, Genoa,

Florence, and Pisa experience? and how often did the three latter change masters? If Venice preserved her liberty, she is indebted for that happiness wholly to her impassable marshes, called the Lagoons.

It may be asked, how in the midst of so many tumults, internal wars, conspiracies, crimes, and follies, there should have been so many persons who cultivated the useful and liberal arts in Italy, and afterward in the other states of Christendom? The answer is that we have never been under the Turkish yoke.

There must certainly have been something in the manners and genius of the people of this part of Europe which is not to be found either in Thrace, where the Turks have fixed the seat of their empire, nor in Tartary, whence they originally came. There are three things that constantly influence the minds of men: climate, government, and religion. This is the only possible method of explaining this enigma in worldly affairs.

The author of "The Spirit of Laws" says that there are no republican states in Asia; whereas a hundred different hordes of Tartars, and tribes of Arabian freebooters, form so many different wandering republics. Besides, there were formerly in Asia several very flourishing republics, even superior to those of Greece; witness Tyre and Sidon: but we have seen none such since their decline. That great empires of that part of the world have also been

swallowed up, as this same author thinks, is manifest from the prodigious plains found there at present. He asserts that a mountainous country is the most suitable asylum of liberty; but certainly Asia is fully as mountainous as Europe. Poland, which is a republic, is a champaign country. Venice and Holland cannot be said to abound in mountains. Switzerland, which is a free country, is indeed situated in a part of the Alps; but its neighbors who inhabit the other part have ever been in a state of slavery. It is certainly a refinement in reasoning to inquire into the physical causes of governments; but then we should not seek for causes that never had existence.

Although it has in former times been a custom with almost all nations, to sacrifice human victims; yet this custom is far from having been frequent. This effect of barbarous ignorance, abolished in the old world, still continued to subsist in the new. But this detestable ceremony is not to be considered in the light of a religious precept that influenced society; for though the Mexicans sacrificed their prisoners before the altars of their gods, and the Romans strangled theirs, after having dragged them in triumph at their chariot-wheels to the capitol, this was no more than one of the consequences of war, which prevailed equally with both nations, and which, when joined to a religious motive, became one of the most dreadful scourges of humanity. All

I contend for is, that there never was an instance of any religious society or rite being instituted with a view to encourage men to the commission of vice. Religion has, indeed, been made a cloak for wickedness in all parts of the world; but it is everywhere instituted to promote virtue and goodness; and though superstition may have introduced fanaticism and wars, morality teaches universal peace and concord.

From this picture of Europe, from the reign of Charlemagne to the present time, you will easily judge that this part of the world is, without comparison, better peopled, more civilized, more wealthy, and more enlightened than it was in his days; and that it is even superior to what any other part of the Roman Empire was, Italy excepted.

It is a notion worthy only of the facetious author of "Persian Tales," or of the new-fangled paradoxes which we meet with in other writers no less frivolous, though delivered with an air of more gravity, to pretend that Europe is less populous than in the time of the ancient Romans.

If we consider the number of superb cities from St. Petersburg to Madrid, that have been built in what were deserts six centuries ago; or the immense tracts of woods which covered the earth, from the borders of the Danube to the Baltic Sea, and even to the heart of France, it will clearly appear that such an extent of land could not have been cleared

without a great number of hands. Hence let others say what they will, agriculture and commerce have been infinitely more encouraged since the time of the Romans than they were either then or before.

One reason which has in general contributed to keeping up the population of Europe is that in the numberless wars which its several provinces have experienced, the conquered people have never been carried away out of their own country by the victors.

Charlemagne did indeed depopulate the banks of the Weser, but this small spot was soon supplied again with inhabitants. The Turks carried away many Hungarian and Dalmatian families, out of their own country, and accordingly we find those countries, at present, but thinly peopled. Poland is also badly inhabited, but that is owing to the common people being still held in a state of slavery.

In what a flourishing condition, then, would Europe have been at this time, had it not been for the continual wars by which it has been rent on the slightest pretexts, and very often through mere whim and caprice? To what a degree of perfection would agriculture have attained, and how much more comfort and assistance would those arts which prepare the produce of the earth for our use have afforded us, had not such an astonishing number of persons, of both sexes, been doomed to pass their lives in useless retirement, within the walls of cloisters! An improvement in humanity, which has been introduced amidst the scourge of war, and thus soft-

ened its horrors, has at the same time contributed not a little to save the common people from that destruction with which they were almost continually threatened. The great number of military forces which are continually maintained by all crowned heads is doubtless a great evil in society; but, at the same time, as I have before observed, this very evil is productive of a good. The common people now leave the trade of war to their masters, without intermeddling therewith themselves. The inhabitants of a besieged town pass frequently from the service of one power to that of another, without a single life being lost on the occasion, and they quietly become the property of him who has the strongest army, the best artillery, and the most money.

Germany, France and England were for a long time laid waste by civil wars, but these disasters were soon repaired, and the present flourishing state of these countries shows that the industry of mankind has even far exceeded their rage and fury. It is not the same with Persia, for that country has, for more than forty years, been a prey to the most shocking devastations; but if happily she should be gathered together, under the rule of a wise and good prince, she may recover herself in far less time than has been taken in ruining her.

When a nation has an acquaintance with the arts, and its inhabitants are not absolutely enslaved, or carried away by a foreign conqueror, that nation will rise from its ruins, and regain its strength.